

Geography, Travel and Publishing in Mid-Victorian Britain

Louise Christine Henderson



PhD

Department of Geography
Royal Holloway, University of London
2012

Declaration of Originality

I, Louise Christine Henderson, hereby declare that this thesis and the work presented in it is entirely my own. Where I have consulted the work of others this is always clearly stated.

Signed: _____

13/3/2012

Abstract

This thesis examines geographical publishing in mid-Victorian Britain. Focusing specifically on literatures of travel and exploration, it considers the role of publishers and the publishing industry more widely in shaping the geographical understandings of a range of mid-Victorian readers. Through a detailed examination of the production, circulation and reception of four publishing projects, this thesis provides insights into the challenges and opportunities associated with different forms of publishing whilst also drawing attention to the broader print culture which was implicated in bringing knowledge of these works (and the geographies within them) to various reading publics.

The first chapter offers a critical overview of recent work by historical geographers and historians of science concerning print culture, publishing and scientific knowledge. It also outlines the theoretical framework adopted within this thesis which emphasises the importance of considering production, circulation and reception simultaneously. The second chapter develops this discussion further by providing a rationale for a study of travel and exploration publishing specifically. It also explores the methodological implications of deploying an approach which simultaneously considers how particular works of geography were produced, replicated and consumed in the mid-Victorian period.

Chapters 3-6 offer detailed case studies of particular publishing projects. Chapter 3 examines David Livingstone's *Missionary Travels and Researches in South Africa* (John Murray, 1857). Chapter 4 explores Francis Galton's *The Art of Travel or, Shifts and Contrivances Available in Wild Countries* (John Murray, 1855). Chapters 5 and 6 focus on multi-authored works. Chapter five considers the series *Vacation Tourists and Notes of Travel* (Macmillan and Co., 1861-1864). Chapter 6 investigates the periodical *Geographical Magazine* (Trübner, 1874-1878). Through these case studies, as the concluding chapter 7 highlights, this thesis offers new insights into the way that print figured in shaping particular geographical imaginations during the nineteenth century.

Acknowledgements

In the chapters that follow I discuss the collaborative nature of authorship. The research process is equally collaborative and it is with sincere gratitude that I acknowledge all those who have supported me in the preparation of this thesis.

I am grateful to the ESRC for funding this research (Award PTA-031-2006-00019). I would also like to thank the many archivists and librarians who helped me navigate a path through an overwhelming amount of research material. In particular, I'd like to acknowledge the assistance of staff at the Alpine Club, British Library, Cambridge University Library, Huntington Library, National Library of Scotland, Royal Geographical Society, UCL Special Collections and University of Reading Special Collections. Thank you also to David Gaylard and Bill Willett for sharing their knowledge of George Philip and Son and to Lowri Jones for insights into the RGS Collections.

I have benefited from being part of a thriving research community in the Department of Geography at Royal Holloway and my thanks go to my advisor David Lambert and members of Landscape Surgery, past and present, for their invaluable advice. Special thanks must go to Felix Driver whose expertise, enthusiasm and encouragement have been an inspiration. I could not have asked for any more in a supervisor.

Many colleagues have become great friends and I would like to thank Hilary Geoghegan, Kimberley Peters, Inga Sevastjanova, Daniel Whittall and Tara Woodyer for sharing their good humour over the last four years. I am particularly indebted to Hilary who has read work-in-progress throughout and shared many pearls of wisdom, particularly in the final stages of this project and to Kim, for always being on hand to lend an ear or share a laugh.

To Pat, who has shared this journey with me and supported me all the way, thank you for waiting. Finally to my family, especially my parents, thank you for your ongoing support and patience. This thesis is for you.

Contents

| | |
|---|------------|
| Abstract | 3 |
| Acknowledgements | 4 |
| Contents | 5 |
| Figures | 7 |
| | |
| 1. Historical Geographies of Science, Publishing and Print Culture | 8 |
| 1.1 Scientific Knowledge and the History of the Book | 9 |
| 1.2 Nineteenth-Century Science and Publishing: <i>Victorian Sensation</i> | 22 |
| 1.3 Historical Geographies of the Book | 32 |
| 1.4 Thesis Framework and Structure | 41 |
| | |
| 2. Contexts, Methods and Sources | 46 |
| 2.1 Context: Mid-Victorian Geographical Publishing | 48 |
| 2.2 Methodology: Case Studies of Travel and Exploration Publishing | 65 |
| 2.3 Case Studies: Selection and Rationale | 74 |
| 2.4 Sources: Reconstructing Publishing Histories | 80 |
| 2.5 Electronic Resources | 94 |
| | |
| 3. Circulation and Reception: <i>Missionary Travels and Researches in South Africa</i> | 106 |
| 3.1 From the Field to the Publishing House: Authorship as Collaboration | 109 |
| 3.2 <i>Missionary Travels</i> in Britain: Challenges to Livingstone's Authority | 115 |
| 3.3 <i>Missionary Travels</i> in America: Battling 'Pirates' Abroad | 119 |
| 3.4 <i>Missionary Travels</i> in Europe: Reserving the Right of Translation | 127 |
| 3.5 Reviewing <i>Missionary Travels</i> | 136 |
| | |
| 4. Instructions for Travellers from Travellers: <i>The Art of Travel</i> | 161 |
| 4.1 <i>The Art of Travel</i> : a manual for 'all who have to rough it' | 163 |
| 4.2 The Royal Geographical Society and the Art of Exploration | 166 |
| 4.3 Model Soldiers: the Art of Campaigning | 180 |
| 4.4 <i>The Art of Travel</i> and John Murray's <i>Handbook Series</i> | 189 |
| | |
| 5. Serialising Travel: <i>Vacation Tourists and Notes of Travel</i> | 208 |
| 5.1 The Concept and Contexts behind <i>Vacation Tourists</i> | 210 |
| 5.2 Serial Collaborations: Challenges and Opportunities | 219 |
| 5.3 Advertising and Circulation | 228 |
| 5.4 Reviewing <i>Vacation Tourists</i> | 236 |

| | |
|--|------------|
| 6. 'Popularising' Travel and Exploration: From <i>Our Ocean Highways</i> to the <i>Geographical Magazine</i> in the 1870s | 253 |
| 6.1 From <i>Our Ocean Highways</i> to the <i>Geographical Magazine</i> | 255 |
| 6.2 Publishing Travel Periodically | 266 |
| 6.3 An Ambivalent Response: The RGS and Popular Periodicals | 281 |
| 7. Conclusion | 301 |
| 7.1 Mid-Victorian Travel Publishing: Themes | 303 |
| 7.2 Historical Geographies of Geographical Publishing: Implications..... | 317 |
| 7.3 Geographical Publishing and Print Culture: Future Directions | 321 |
| Appendix I: Chronology of Publications, 1855-1879..... | 329 |
| Appendix II: Electronic Resources | 332 |
| Appendix III: <i>Missionary Travels</i> : Reviews | 343 |
| Bibliography | 353 |

List of Figures

| | |
|--|-----|
| 1.1 'The Communications Circuit' | 44 |
| 1.2 'A New Model for the History of the Book' | 45 |
| 2.1 Extract from Copies Ledger E, John Murray Archive | 103 |
| 2.2 John Murray's Estimates | 104 |
| 2.3 Sources from the John Murray Archive: Livingstone's Dedication | 105 |
| 3.1 David Livingstone's <i>Missionary Travels</i> | 154 |
| 3.2 Competition in the British Marketplace | 155 |
| 3.3 The American Circulation of Livingstone's Narrative | 156 |
| 3.4 German-Language Versions of Livingstone's Travels | 157 |
| 3.5 Different Interpretations of Lake Ngami | 158 |
| 3.6 French-Language Versions of Livingstone's Travels..... | 159 |
| 3.7 Loandan Hairstyles in <i>Missionary Travels</i> and <i>L'Afrique ouverte</i> | 160 |
| 4.1 Francis Galton's <i>The Art of Travel</i> | 200 |
| 4.2 R.B. Marcy's <i>The Prairie Traveller</i> | 201 |
| 4.3 Richard F. Burton's Copy of <i>The Art of Travel</i> | 202 |
| 4.4 James Collins' 'Notes of Travel' | 203 |
| 4.5 Arts of Campaigning..... | 204 |
| 4.6 Models and Specimens Illustrative of Camp Life | 205 |
| 4.7 Francis Galton's Contribution to Murray's Guidebooks | 206 |
| 4.8 Intersections: Murray's Handbooks and Galton's <i>The Art of Travel</i> | 207 |
| 5.1 <i>Vacation Tourists and Notes of Travel in 1860</i> | 248 |
| 5.2 <i>Vacation Tourists and Notes of Travel in 1861</i> | 249 |
| 5.3 <i>Vacation Tourists and Notes of Travel in 1862-3</i> | 250 |
| 5.4 <i>Vacation Tourists and Notes of Travel</i> , Series Binding..... | 251 |
| 5.5 <i>Peaks, Passes and Glaciers</i> | 252 |
| 6.1 <i>Our Ocean Highways: A Condensed Universal Gazetteer</i> | 293 |
| 6.2 <i>Our Ocean Highways: A Monthly Supplement to the Annual Volume</i> | 294 |
| 6.3 Advertising 'Our Ocean Highways Monthly Supplement' | 295 |
| 6.4 <i>Our Ocean Highways Geographical Record and Travellers Register</i> | 296 |
| 6.5 The maps of William Hughes in <i>Our Ocean Highways</i> | 297 |
| 6.6 <i>Ocean Highways: The Geographical Record</i> | 298 |
| 6.7 <i>Ocean Highways: The Geographical Review</i> | 299 |
| 6.8 <i>Geographical Magazine</i> , Contents Page for Volume I (1872) | 300 |

Historical Geographies of Science, Publishing and Print Culture

This thesis is concerned with the relationship between print culture and the production, dissemination and consumption of particular forms of geographical knowledge associated with travel and exploration during the mid-Victorian period. It starts from the proposition that print was fundamental to the process of constructing, circulating and debating the significance of geographical 'discoveries'. It draws insights from history and geography of science, book history and book geography and other associated fields, and examines the mediating influence of publishers and the wider publishing industry at a time when the print trades were expanding rapidly to accommodate new markets for printed materials. This chapter outlines the conceptual context for the study of geographical publishing, drawing on recent work on publishing and print culture in the history and geography of science, book history, periodical studies and book geography. It provides the rationale for the emphasis in what follows on the relationships between production, circulation and consumption, the mediating role of publishers and the materiality of texts.

1.1 Scientific Knowledge and the History of the Book

Some fifteen years ago now, Thrift, Driver and Livingstone proclaimed that 'If it were necessary to choose the most vibrant and exciting areas of research in the social sciences and humanities today, then surely the study of science as a social construction would figure large'.¹ The subsequent conversations between geographers, historians and sociologists of science have ensured that this is an area of research that continues to thrive, with scholars gathering evidence from diverse times and locales to argue that the production of scientific knowledge is a situated practice, 'a social practice earthed in concrete historical and geographical circumstances'.² In so doing, such scholarship has challenged traditional understandings of scientific knowledge as untouched by the 'messiness of local circumstances'.³ Indeed Livingstone, Withers and other geographers have

¹ N. Thrift, F. Driver and D.N. Livingstone, 'Editorial', *Environment and Planning D: Society and Space*, 13 (1995), 1.

² D.N. Livingstone, *Putting Science in its Place: Geographies of Scientific Knowledge* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2003), 180.

³ D.N. Livingstone, *Science, Space and Hermeneutics: Hettner Lecture 2001* (Heidelberg: University of Heidelberg, 2001), 10; C.W.J. Withers, 'Introduction: geography, science and historical geographies of knowledge', in C.W.J. Withers, *Geography, Science and National Identity: Scotland Since 1520* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2001), 1-29; D.N. Livingstone, 'The spaces of

convincingly argued that historical ‘geographies of science’ can complement the work of historians of science and provide meaningful insights into how and why certain claims to knowledge gather prominence in certain spaces.⁴ Crucial to this endeavour is an attention to the way that knowledge travels in and between different spaces at a number of scales, for transmission regularly results in transformation, facilitating the production of new forms of knowing in the process. In the wake of this work, geographers and others concerned with the historical development of scientific knowledges have explored a diverse range of knowledge-making venues, from the laboratory, lecture hall and field to the public house and ship’s deck.⁵ Such work tends to challenge rigid distinctions between notions of production and consumption, by considering how knowledge is made and re-made as it travels in and across different sites.

Thinking about how knowledge was produced in and moved between different sites reveals that, in the words of Livingstone,

[S]cientific knowledge is not just about how and where the worlds of natural objects or material artefacts are experienced, nor about how the rendezvous between human culture and nature is stage-managed. It is also about the encounter with scientific texts.⁶

Thus, as Johns argues, ‘A reappraisal of print in the making can contribute to our historical understanding of the conditions of knowledge itself’.⁷ Indeed if the 1990s were characterised by a flourishing interest in the social (and spatial) construction of science, we could argue that the last decade has been marked by a growing

knowledge: contributions towards a historical geography of science’, *Environment and Planning D: Society and Space*, 13 (1995), 5-35; D.N. Livingstone, *Putting Science in its Place*; D.N. Livingstone, ‘Text, talk and testimony: geographical reflections on scientific habits. An afterword’, *British Journal for the History of Science*, 38 (2005a), 95; S. Naylor, ‘Introduction: historical geographies of science – places, contexts, cartographies’, *British Journal of History for the of Science*, 38 (2005), 1-12; S. Shapin, *A Social of Truth: Civility and Science in Seventeenth-Century* (Chicago: Chicago University Press, 1994); S. Shapin, ‘Placing the view from nowhere: historical and sociological problems in the location of science’, *Transactions of the Institute of British Geographers*, 23 (1998), 5-12 and D.N. Livingstone, ‘Landscapes of knowledge’, in P. Meusburger, D.N. Livingstone and H. Jöns (eds.), *Geographies of Science: Knowledge and Space*, (Dordrecht: Springer Science, 2010), 3-22.

⁴ See especially, Livingstone, ‘The spaces of knowledge: contributions towards a historical geography of science’ and *Putting Science in its Place*.

⁵ Naylor, ‘Introduction: historical geographies of science’, 1-12.; D. Outram, ‘New spaces in natural history’ in N. Jardine, J.A. Secord and E.C. Spary (eds.), *Cultures of Natural History* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1996), 249-265.

⁶ D.N. Livingstone, ‘Science, text and space: thoughts on the geography of reading’, *Transactions of the Institute of British Geographers*, 30 (2005b), 391; C.W.J. Withers, *Placing the Enlightenment: Thinking Geographically about the Age of Reason* (Chicago University Press: Chicago, 2007).

⁷ A. Johns, *The Nature of the Book: Print and Knowledge in the Making* (Chicago University Press: Chicago, 1998), 6.

awareness of the need to investigate the production and mobilization of knowledge through print and print industries.

The need to consider this relationship is particularly pressing in relation to the nineteenth century. As many have recognised, only during this period did the 'physical, legal and human conditions' necessary for both mass production *and* mass consumption of print fall into place.⁸ For instance, increased literacy rates among the working classes, falling prices for basic goods, rising wages, the abolition of the window tax in 1851 and the repeal of other taxes on knowledge, make the mid-Victorian decades a period in which the social and physical conditions necessary for large-scale leisurely reading gradually came to coexist.⁹ As Weedon observes, 'the market could only expand when the population had a standard of living which allowed for, over and above basic needs, light to read by and the purchase and hire of books'.¹⁰ During the nineteenth century then, and particularly after the mid-century, patterns of production, dissemination and consumption altered significantly. However, whilst the implications of such changes have long occupied the thoughts of those studying fictional literatures, it is only relatively recently that similar questions have been directed towards non-fictional works. This is problematic for, as Eliot explains, 'print products didn't just surround the nineteenth century, they penetrated and pervaded it, became so ubiquitous and commonplace as to be taken for granted'.¹¹ The very fact that print was so commonplace means that its role and significance can be overlooked while the ubiquity of print also raises significant practical challenges for scholars attempting to negotiate a path through the vast subject matter.

However, recent work in the history of science has begun to examine connections between developments in the nineteenth-century print trades and changes in the methods of constructing and circulating claims to scientific knowledge. Such investigations though have at times been hindered by a reluctance

⁸ J.O. Jordan and R.L. Patten 'Introduction: publishing history as hypertext' in J.O. Jordan and R.L. Patten (eds.), *Literature in the Marketplace: Nineteenth-Century British Publishing and Reading Practices* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1995), 5.

⁹ A. King and J. Plunkett, *Victorian Print Media: A Reader* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2005), 166; J. Feather, *A History of British Publishing* (London: Routledge, 2006), 111-112.

¹⁰ A. Weedon *Victorian Publishing: the Economics of Book Production for a Mass Market, 1836-1916* (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2003), 33.

¹¹ S. Eliot, 'Some trends in British book production, 1800-1919' in J.O. Jordan and R.L. Patten (eds.), *Literature in the Marketplace: Nineteenth-Century British Publishing and Reading Practices*, (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1995), 19.

to embrace more fully methods and theories that have traditionally been the preserve of book historians. As Topham explained in 2000 for instance, despite notable inroads, 'rather than being valued as an approach which can offer major new insights within the field', book history was all too often dismissed by historians of science as 'illuminating but ultimately peripheral'.¹² This thesis, however, adopts an approach which brings insights from book history together with complementary work in fields including history and geography of science, periodical studies and reception studies. The present chapter will offer a critical overview of this research (beginning with book history) identifying common threads which provide a rationale for the investigation of relationships between the production, dissemination and reception of knowledge and that of print. It concludes by highlighting that whilst geographers have long drawn upon textual sources in historical research, more recent scholarship has re-invigorated the geography of the book, opening up many important lines of inquiry which can help us to understand the conditions under which geographical knowledge was constructed, communicated and contested in print within particular historical contexts.

Book History: A Changing Discipline

The history of the book as a field of study is more accurately described as the 'social and cultural history of communication by print' reaching as it does far beyond the study of books alone.¹³ Indeed its concerns are so far-reaching that in an article originally published in *Daedalus* in 1982 Darnton was moved to remark that the history of the book was more akin to a 'tropical rain forest' than a 'field', having 'become so crowded with ancillary disciplines that one can no longer see its contours'.¹⁴ To the uninitiated it can appear as if little has changed in subsequent years. For instance, the Society for the History of Authorship, Reading and Publishing (SHARP) notes that its journal *Book History*

¹² J. Topham, 'BJHS special section: book history and the sciences. Introduction', *British Journal for the History of Science* 33 (2000), 155.

¹³ R. Darnton, 'What is the history of books?' in R. Darnton, *The Kiss of Lamourette: Reflections in Cultural History* (New York: W.W Norton & Company, 1990), 107.

¹⁴ R. Darnton, 'What is the history of books?' 110.

will publish research on the social, economic, and cultural history of authorship, editing, printing, publishing, media, the book arts, the book trade, periodicals, newspapers, ephemera, copyright, censorship, literary agents, libraries, literary criticism, canon formation, literacy, literary education, reading habits, and reader response.¹⁵

And if that is not exhaustive enough, 'The journal is open to all disciplines and methodologies, and it will consider articles dealing with any literary culture and any historical period'.¹⁶ In this light, Darnton's suggestion that book history is an example of 'interdisciplinarity run riot' seems fitting. For historians and geographers of science seeking to embrace the insights that such a field might offer today, the obvious question is where to begin.

It is often suggested that the intellectual roots of the history of the book as the field we would recognise today – 'the social and cultural history of communication by print' – largely lie within the French *Annales* school of social and economic historiography and the Anglo-American tradition of bibliography.¹⁷ The former turned its attentions toward book history in the late 1950s and, in characteristic style, deployed quantitative methodologies to explore the *longue durée* of print culture. One of the earliest and most influential examples of such scholarship was Lucien Febvre and Henri-Jean Martin's *The Coming of the Book* (originally published in French in 1958), analysing the 'impact of print, 1450-1800'.¹⁸ Indeed it is often held to be a founding text of modern book history. However, as Adrian Johns notes, while such an approach was apt for explorations of long-term change and quantifiable practices of large-scale production and distribution it was less appropriate for dealing with the particularities of individual printed products.¹⁹ Particularly problematic was the realisation that such an approach over-emphasized the fixity of meaning: rather than exploring the effects of distribution over space, such scholarship effectively assumed that as long as two works did not materially differ, they would be read in the same way, irrespective of geography. However a number of works began to

¹⁵ Society for the History of Authorship, Reading and Publishing, Accessed 19/01/2008.

¹⁶ Society for the History of Authorship, Reading and Publishing, Accessed 19/01/2008.

¹⁷ D. Finkelstein and A. McCleery, *An Introduction to Book History* (New York: Routledge, 2005), 1.

¹⁸ L. Febvre and H. Martin, *The Coming of the Book: The Impact of Print, 1450-1800* (London: Verso, 1976).

¹⁹ A. Johns, 'Science and the book in modern cultural historiography', *Studies in History and Philosophy of Science*, 29 (1998), 173.

demonstrate that the act of reading was itself productive and subsequently, by the 1980s, the contexts of practices of reading were beginning to be subjected to the kinds of analyses traditionally developed for the contexts of production.²⁰

Over the course of the same period, the discipline of bibliography also underwent significant change. By the 1950s it had established itself as the 'science of the material transmission of literary documents'²¹ and focused upon 'how to recognize formats, collate signatures, detect cancels (leaves with errors or potentially offensive passages), distinguish typefaces, trace watermarks, analyze art work, and identify bindings'.²² Whereas the *Annalistes* were concerned with broad patterns and trends, bibliographers focused on comparatively minute details. As Finkelstein and McCleery note, the driving force behind this so-called 'analytical' bibliography was the desire to reconstruct texts in their original and supposedly unadulterated forms, stripping away the contaminating influence of editors, proof-readers, printers, publishers and other 'technicians of print' in the process.²³ One of the leading proponents of such an approach, W.W. Greg, highlighted, however, that authorial intent would not necessarily be subjected to analysis by bibliographers: 'what the bibliographer is concerned with is pieces of paper or parchment covered with certain written or printed signs. With these signs he is concerned merely as arbitrary marks; their meaning is no business of his'.²⁴

From the 1960s onwards, however, this analytical bibliography came under fire with D.F. McKenzie, in particular, arguing that bibliography should also investigate the importance of materiality in helping to create meaning. His call for a 'sociology of texts' was founded upon the belief that

any history of the book which excluded study of the social, economic, and political motivations of publishing, the reasons why texts were written and read as they were, why they were rewritten and redesigned, or allowed to die, would degenerate into a feebly degressive book list and never rise to a readable history.²⁵

²⁰ Johns, *The Nature of the Book*, 175-177.

²¹ W.W. Greg, 'What is bibliography?', *Transactions of the Bibliographical Society*, 12 (1914), 39.

²² Darnton, (2003), as cited by Finkelstein and McCleery, *An Introduction to Book History*, 8.

²³ Finkelstein and McCleery, *An Introduction to Book History*, 8; D. Finkelstein and A. McCleery, 'Introduction' in D. Finkelstein and A. McCleery (eds.), *The Book History Reader* (London: Routledge, 2006), 2. This phrase is borrowed from J. Topham, 'Technicians of print and the making of natural knowledge' *Studies in the History and Philosophy of Science* 35 (2004), 391-400.

²⁴ W.W. Greg, 'Bibliography – an apologia' in J.C Maxwell (ed.), *Collected Papers* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1966), 247.

²⁵ D.F. McKenzie, 'The book as an expressive form' in D. Finkelstein and A. McCleery (eds.), *The Book History Reader* (London: Routledge, 2006), 37.

McKenzie argued that scholars needed to consider processes and practices involved in the production of texts alongside readers and their modes of reading and, moreover, firmly challenged the notion that materiality and meaning could be separated. Thus, meaning was not something that could be considered inherent within a text but rather the result of complex interpretations. As Chartier insists, 'the meanings attributed to the texts rely on the capacities, conventions, and practices of reading proper to the communities that constitute, simultaneously or successively, their different publics'.²⁶ One cannot then approach the history of reading by seeking to understand how a single amorphous 'public' approached a given text but rather we need to remember that different groups could encounter even a single copy or edition of a work in very different ways. Thus, for Chartier and McKenzie, the sociology of texts, unlike analytical bibliography, is not led by a desire to uncover an imagined original or pristine edition of a text but rather to consider particular editions in their own historical and material circumstances.²⁷ Moreover, as Chartier's own work on the *Bibliothèque Bleue* demonstrates, it is difficult to use sweeping categorisations such as 'popular' literature on account of the fact that intended readership could in practice differ greatly from actual readership. Thus, there was no such thing as an inherently 'popular' text but rather texts became popular once they were appropriated in particular ways by particular groups.²⁸

The work of the literary historian Jerome McGann also places an emphasis upon examining different editions of a single text. To make his case, he highlights that in a number of canonical works, images added by someone other than the author are regularly crucial to the meaning that a written text comes to communicate to an audience. In so doing, McGann works with an understanding of 'text' beyond something purely linguistic and also demonstrates that seeking out a manuscript in an author's hand alone is a wholly inadequate method of reconstructing the meanings that texts could come to communicate in the hands of readers. Moreover, he

²⁶ R. Chartier, 'Crossing borders in early modern Europe: sociology of texts and literature', (Translated by M. Elton), *Book History* 8 (2005), 39.

²⁷ J. Sutherland, 'Publishing history: a hole at the centre of literary sociology', *Critical Inquiry* 14 (1988), 581.

²⁸ Chartier, 'Crossing borders in early modern Europe', 39; R. Chartier, *The Order of Books: Readers, Authors and Libraries in Europe* (California: Stanford University Press, 1994); Johns, 'Science and the book in modern cultural historiography', 174.

contends that it is also necessary to pay close attention to the format in which a manuscript is put into print - as a single volume, as a three-decker novel, as a weekly serialization and so on, for, 'These kinds of production structures can be exploited for aesthetic effects in particular and highly individuated ways'.²⁹ Texts then, are not static but rather evolve in response to particular social contexts – hence McGann's call for an analysis of 'the continuous sociologization of [...] texts'.³⁰ Such an undertaking which necessarily focuses upon the influence of a host of individuals in the construction of textual meaning does not, however, result in the 'death of the author' to use Barthes' famous phrase.³¹ Whereas the modes of bibliography that McGann takes issue with focus rigidly upon an 'original' edition to the extent that, in Sutherland's words, the author's voice is effectively 'quarantined' beyond that initial form,³² in McGann's work the author's voice is brought into conversation with a number of other competing voices.

The work of literary theorist Genette also spoke to this concern with the importance of materiality in meaning-making. *Paratexts: Threshold of Interpretation* (first published in French as *Seuills* in 1987) provided a framework for thinking about the ways in which different material forms of a single text might produce competing interpretations.³³ According to Genette, paratexts are 'those liminal devices and conventions, both within and outside the book, that form part of the complex mediation between book, author, publisher and reader'.³⁴ He argued that the arrangement of 'liminal devices' at the edges of the text such as titles, prefaces, dedications, contents pages, indexes, footnotes, etc are crucial to imbuing texts with meaning, structuring readers' encounters with a text. Whilst not wishing to overstate the extent to which readers' behaviours are determined by the physicality of a work, such an approach can be useful for thinking about how different textual devices can enable or constrain particular modes of reading. Moreover, greater attention is needed to understand how these paratextual devices come to be deployed on the

²⁹ J. McGann, 'The socialization of texts' in D. Finkelstein and A. McCleery (eds.), *The Book History Reader* (London: Routledge, 2006), 72.

³⁰ J. McGann, 'The socialization of texts', 73.

³¹ R. Barthes, 'The death of the author' in D. Finkelstein and A. McCleery (eds.), *The Book History Reader* (London: Routledge, 2006), 277-280.

³² Sutherland, 'Publishing history: a hole at the centre of literary sociology', 580.

³³ G. Genette, *Paratexts: Thresholds of Interpretation* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1997).

³⁴ Genette, *Paratexts*, 2.

printed page in the way that they are. Seemingly banal elements such as dedications and contents pages for instance can be the result of negotiations between a number of individuals, ranging from authors, publishers, printers and proof-readers, highlighting the importance of linking Genette's approach with one that can move both in and out of the printed page. There is scope for example to extend this thinking toward non-linguistic devices such as illustrations in order to explore the relationship between image and text within printed materials, be they books, periodicals or pamphlets, for instance. However, it is noteworthy that Genette's analysis does not stretch into the realms of analytical biography and so the importance of paper, ink and typesetting in producing meaning continue to go unremarked in Genette's work.³⁵ And further, it is one thing to hypothesise that the physical construction of printed objects impinges upon readers' responses and another to demonstrate *how* it has done so in particular historical moments.

Following interjections by McKenzie, Chartier and others associated with the so-called 'new history of the book', scholars have begun to consider not only what was read, where, and by whom but increasingly, how and why they did so (as Chapter 2 discusses in more detail). Moreover, whilst German reception-theorists such as Iser and Jauss emphasized the need to consider the reader as an active agent in the interactive exchange that occurred between reader and text and provided useful means of conceptualising hypothetical readers, more recently the focal point has shifted towards evidence-based studies of 'real readers'.³⁶ Whilst the history of reading remains marked by different theoretical and methodological approaches, it displays a commitment to viewing readers and texts as embodied within specific historical and geographical circumstance. However, in what must now be recognised as a familiar complaint, Hackel suggests that many historians of reading fail to connect their studies to other aspects of the publishing process, 'thus losing the necessary sense of the relationship between authors, publishers, and readers'.³⁷

Since the 1980s, then, both analytical bibliography and neo-*Annaliste* historiography have been challenged by alternative approaches. Literary scholars who focused on deconstructing textual content have also been critiqued. Whilst

³⁵ Finkelstein and McCleery, *An Introduction to Book History*, 15.

³⁶ S. Colclough, 'Readers: books and biography' in S. Eliot and J. Rose (eds.), *A Companion to the History of the Book*, (Oxford: Blackwell Publishing Ltd, 2009), 50-62.

³⁷ H.B. Hackel, *Reading Material in Early Modern England: Print, Gender, and Literacy*, (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2005), 9.

textual analysis could serve to demonstrate how wide-ranging interpretations of a single text may be, historical and geographical specificity were, critics argued, too often neglected.³⁸ McKenzie's influence would drive forward attempts to formulate a 'new history of the book' centred upon 'readers, materiality and meaning'.³⁹ Yet, it was certainly not true that analytical bibliography entirely gave way to the sociology of texts or that *Annaliste* historians abandoned long-term statistical analyses once the importance of the context of consumption began to be asserted. Nor did literary theorists suddenly embrace studies of context and form over content. Rather from the 1950s onwards, the field of book history has been characterised by an increasing array of competing approaches. The remainder of this chapter explores how more recent scholarship has built upon these foundations to offer ways of approaching book history (and book geography) which can yield significant insights into the role of print in shaping different forms of knowledge in particular historical circumstances.

Robert Darnton argued that what the field of book history required was a 'general model' for explaining the way that books and other printed media are both produced and productive in society. To this end, he combined insights from communications studies, his own research on eighteenth-century print and work by sociologists of text to develop an approach to book history which centred upon what he termed the 'communications circuit'. This was a networked model which linked author, publisher, printer, shipper, bookseller and reader in a feedback loop (Figure 1.1).⁴⁰ Darnton thus rejected the assumptions of analytical bibliographers that such 'technicians of print' are unimportant in the history of the book and sought to replace the traditional 'great-man, great-book' approach with a more inclusive *histoire total*.⁴¹ As he suggested,

Book history concerns each phase of [the communications circuit] and the [circuit] as a whole, in all its variations over space and time and in all its relations with other systems, economic, social, political, and cultural, in the surrounding environment.⁴²

³⁸ Chartier, 'Crossing borders in early modern Europe', 180.

³⁹ Finkelstein and McCleery, *An Introduction to Book History*, 11.

⁴⁰ Darnton, 'What is the history of books?' 112.

⁴¹ Darnton, 'What is the history of books?' 152-153.

⁴² Darnton, 'What is the history of books?' 111.

Books, then, are only a very small part of a much larger communications system. As Rose notes, the history of the book thus conceived is actually a 'history of written information'.⁴³ Although highlighting the importance of the 'big picture', Darnton does not advocate the production of long-term, large-scale quantitative histories like those of the *Annalistes*. On the contrary, as Sutherland puts it, 'Darnton clearly doubts that quantification ever will produce the desired answers. But given the massified nature of the modern book world, organization by category, statistics, and large unit is inevitable'.⁴⁴ Darnton though remains attentive to the importance of specificities without losing sight of how they fit within a larger whole. Indeed he reasons that the latter is essential 'if book history is to avoid being fragmented into esoteric specializations cut off from each other by arcane techniques and mutual misunderstanding'.⁴⁵ Thus he sees the 'communications circuit' not only as way of linking different processes associated with the lives of printed texts but also as a means of bringing those studying diverse contexts and deploying seemingly disparate techniques into conversation with one another.⁴⁶

Darnton's model, however, is not without its limitations and a number of scholars have attempted to extend and rework his approach. Adams and Barker's 'new model for the study of the book', (Figure 1.2) replaces Darnton's intellectual, socio-economic and legal spheres of influence at the heart of the communications circuit with 'four separate zones, enlarging the scope of outside influences, on the periphery of the circle, each influencing two or more stages, depending on individual circumstance'.⁴⁷ Furthermore, their model is centred around what they term the 'five events in the life of the book – publishing, manufacturing, distribution, reception and survival' rather than the six different groups identified by Darnton, arguing that books, not people, should dominate studies of the history of the book.⁴⁸ This contrast in approach, as Darnton acknowledges, derives from his own background in social history and interest in communications as opposed to bibliography, highlighting that

⁴³ J. Rose, 'The history of books: revised and enlarged' in H. Mason (ed.), *The Darnton Debate: Books and Revolution in the Eighteenth Century* (Oxford: Voltaire Foundation, 1998), 85.

⁴⁴ Sutherland, 'Publishing history: a hole at the centre of literary sociology', 579.

⁴⁵ Sutherland, 'Publishing history: a hole at the centre of literary sociology', 579.

⁴⁶ Sutherland, 'Publishing history: a hole at the centre of literary sociology', 135.

⁴⁷ T.R. Adams and N. Barker, 'A new model for the study of the book' in N. Barker (ed.) *A Potencie of Life: Books in Society* (London: The British Library, 1993), 5-44; R. Darnton, "'What is the history of books?'" Revisited', *Modern Intellectual History* 4 (2007), 495-508.

⁴⁸ Adams and Barker, 'A new model for the study of the book', 15.

the tensions of earlier decades still permeate more recent methodological discussions. Nevertheless, Darnton asserts that when both models are put into practice, the difference between investigating individuals and 'life events' of books is minimal. Publishing, manufacturing, distribution, and so on cannot be understood, he reasons, without studying both individual decision-makers and physical objects.⁴⁹ Nonetheless, Adams and Barker's model does mark a noteworthy departure from that of Darnton in one significant respect – the focus upon 'survival'. Whilst Darnton's model attends to the life of a single edition of a printed text, Adams and Barker's model draws attention to the fact that a single text can live on in different material forms (the importance of which is demonstrated in Chapters 3 and 4 especially). As the examples discussed in this thesis confirm, successive editions, abridgements, translations, extractions and piracies are all capable of producing meaning distinct from an original or 'authoritative' edition. Furthermore, the re-discovery of 'lost' volumes amidst various social, economic, political and cultural contexts also warrants attention.⁵⁰

Book history, then, is not characterised by a single theoretical approach. However, whilst there are important differences between the approaches discussed above, they share a commitment to eschew a focus on 'the essence of the literary work' or the 'genius of the author' towards thinking about how particular social, cultural and historical contexts shape the meanings that texts, in various material forms, come to communicate. This goes hand in hand with a desire to connect studies of the practices and processes of production with those of dissemination and consumption. Much of this awareness derives from the realisation that the process of meaning-making involves not simply content alone but also the material forms which texts may take. Many of the ideas discussed so far culminate in Darnton's model of the 'communications circuit', and although this model has limitations, it has arguably had the greatest influence beyond the field of book history.

The importance of Darnton's contribution is evinced not only by the subsequent attempts to extend and reappraise his theoretical contribution to the field – Haydn Mason's edited volume *The Darnton Debate* is one example – but also

⁴⁹ Darnton, "What is the history of books?" Revisited', 504.

⁵⁰ Adams and Barker, 'A new model for the study of the book', 31-38; Darnton, "What is the history of books?" Revisited', 504.

more subtly in the kinds of empirical studies being produced.⁵¹ As Rose posits, ‘to trace the life of books through the entire communications circuit would be a rare tour de force’, yet several authors have attempted to do just that.⁵² Notable examples include Sher’s *The Enlightenment and the Book* which investigates how books thrived in the world beyond their initial publication during this period. Thus, authors, publishers and booksellers located throughout the British Isles, Ireland and America are all brought into the limelight in an illuminating study which serves to illustrate the importance of histories of the book which are not afraid to follow books and other printed materials across national boundaries.⁵³ In the Victorian context, Patten reappraises *Literature in the Marketplace* in nineteenth-century Britain in an edited volume with Jordan,⁵⁴ whilst Sutherland’s *Victorian Fiction: Writers, Publishers, Readers* has been reissued with a new preface responding specifically to the kind of issues raised by Darnton and his critics.⁵⁵ Weedon’s *Victorian Publishing: the Economics of Book Production for a Mass Market, 1835-1916* marks another important contribution to the field, exploring broad trends associated with the commercialisation of the book trade using the publishing records of twelve firms as well as providing more focused studies of particular producers and consumers of printed materials ranging from canonical fiction to educational textbooks.⁵⁶ More generally, Feather provides an invaluable history of British publishing, illustrating in the process that in order to understand publishing practices, one must situate publishers within a broader network of communication, focusing particularly on how readers and authors also shape the publishing process in particular ways.⁵⁷

However, notwithstanding such attempts to view the ‘communications circuit’ as a whole, there are many more examples of narrower studies which focus closely on one particular point in the circuit. Whilst in the past such research might have produced somewhat deterministic accounts arguing that one element in the circuit was more important than all others – we might read Eisenstein’s monumental

⁵¹ H. Mason (ed.), *The Darnton Debate: Books and Revolution in the Eighteenth Century* (Oxford: Voltaire Foundation, 1998).

⁵² Rose, ‘The history of books: revised and enlarged’, 85.

⁵³ R.B. Sher, *The Enlightenment & the Book: Scottish Authors & their Publishers in Eighteenth-Century Britain, Ireland & America* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2006).

⁵⁴ J.O. Jordan and R.L. Patten (eds.), *Literature in the Marketplace: Nineteenth-Century British Publishing and Reading Practices* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1995).

⁵⁵ J. Sutherland, *Victorian Fiction: Writers, Publishers, Readers*, (Basingstoke, 2006).

⁵⁶ Weedon, *Victorian Publishing*.

⁵⁷ Feather, *A History of British Publishing*.

*The Printing Press as an Agent of Change*⁵⁸ as one such example – more recent scholarship provides detailed analyses of particular texts, practices or individuals whilst generally acknowledging the importance of broader trends and processes. Taken together, these studies can provide remarkable insights into how individual links in the ‘communications circuit’ are shaped and shape different historical and geographical circumstances. However, it is certainly true that there is a greater need for book historians themselves to consider how their own detailed studies connect with those of their colleagues. As Johns argues, ‘the majority of book historians devote themselves to far more fragmentary, isolated topics, [...] as though their accumulation alone will eventually generate a new synthesis of understanding’.⁵⁹ This thesis takes up the challenge of bringing questions relating to production, dissemination and consumption into the same frame. In so doing it builds upon recent scholarship emerging within the history of science, scholarship which has itself drawn significant insights from the book history research outlined above.

1.2 Nineteenth-Century Science and Publishing: Victorian Sensation

Theories and methods developed by historians of print culture are beginning to permeate the history of science as is particularly evident within the growing body of work considering the rise of ‘popular science’ during the nineteenth-century. Lightman and Topham are among those exploring the link between the development of new forms of scientific communication and developments in the print industry. They agree that ‘popular science’ is itself ‘a problematic category of analysis, not least because it has historically carried with it unsustainable assumptions about the passive diffusion of knowledge from expert scientists to inexperienced lay publics’,⁶⁰ but have shown that it nevertheless provides a useful means of considering shifting expectations as to what exactly constituted ‘science’, who was qualified to write about it and how audiences for science might be constituted within this period. Whilst acknowledging that ‘print was far from being the sole medium (nor necessarily the most important) by which the new scientists sought to make their

⁵⁸ E. Eisenstein, *The Printing Press as an Agent of Change. Communications and Cultural Transformations in Early-Modern Europe* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1980).

⁵⁹ A. Johns, ‘Vestigial sensations. Review symposium’, *Metascience* 11 (2002), 20.

⁶⁰ J.R. Topham, ‘Publishing “popular science” in early nineteenth-century Britain’, in A. Fyfe and B. Lightman (eds.) *Science in the Marketplace: Nineteenth Century Sites and Experiences* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press), 135.

local knowledge into public knowledge', this scholarship provides insights into how particular print spaces were implicated in engaging scientists and non-scientists alike in scientific discourse.⁶¹

This has involved particular attention to periodical publication in all its forms. Like book history, the analogous field of periodical studies is also characterised by a variety of theoretical approaches and methodologies cohering around a shared interest in the same subject matter, in this instance the periodical press.⁶² Scholars specialising in the Victorian era have paid close attention not only to the physical construction of specific titles and the texts they contain but also the different reading practices associated with this form (Chapter 6 discusses the specific characteristics of the periodical format in detail). However, until recently, the field has tended to focus on a relatively narrow section of the press (often due to issues associated with access, as Chapter 2 describes). However, with the expansion of digital media, the field has been thrown open, offering significant opportunities to reconceptualise the role of print in engaging both practitioners and non-practitioners in scientific discussion and debate.⁶³ As the size of the reading public grew and the nature of scientific research became increasingly specialised during the nineteenth century, so the demand for non-expert authors who could communicate scientific discoveries to a wider lay public also rose. Indeed those authors that proved particularly skilled in this art could carve out careers as professional popularisers and arguably had a far greater influence over certain reading communities than many practitioners would. These popularisers invoked new ways of discussing scientific discoveries and took advantage of the fact that 'the new medium of the mass publication press [had] radically altered the possibilities of debate and the parameters of disciplinary authority by changing the dynamics of authorship and audience'.⁶⁴ These long overlooked individuals are increasingly being re-written into the history of nineteenth-century science.

⁶¹ J. Topham, 'Scientific publishing and the reading of science in nineteenth-century Britain: a historiographical survey and guide to sources', *Studies in the History and Philosophy of Science*, 31 (2000), 562.

⁶² K. Boardman, "'Charting the golden stream": Recent work on Victorian periodicals', *Victorian Studies*, 48 (2006), 506-7.

⁶³ Boardman, "'Charting the golden stream"; S. Latham, and R. Scholes, 'The rise of periodical studies', *PMLA* 121 (2006), 517-31.

⁶⁴ B. Lightman, *Victorian Popularizers of Science: Designing Nature for New Audiences* (Chicago: Chicago University Press, 2007), 13.

Yet it was neither practitioners nor professional popularisers of science that led the trend towards catering for increasingly variegated audiences. Rather, publishers played a crucial role in re-shaping the way that scientific knowledge was communicated in the period, often driving rather than following transformation as they instigated a raft of new publications whose primary function was to engage non-scientists in scientific debate. Sheets-Pyenson and Barton have both studied the rise of popular science periodicals during the nineteenth-century, highlighting that whilst these publications began to appear in the 1820s, their numbers increased significantly during the 1850s and 1860s as the market expanded and publishers sought to target increasingly specific groups of readers.⁶⁵ Of course, scientific writing did not only appear in dedicated periodicals. Boardman has argued that the recent expansion of the field of periodical studies has resulted in greater interdisciplinary collaboration, producing studies which are increasingly able to 'account for the generic heterogeneity of the periodicals themselves, which comprise articles, essays, fiction, poetry, biography, reviews, letters, advertisements, and often illustrations'.⁶⁶ This is certainly evident in recent work from the Science in the Nineteenth-Century Periodical (SciPer) project which explores the presence of scientific writing in general-interest periodicals which combined literature, politics, art and humour, for instance with scientific debate. This work emphasizes that 'In an age when the natural sciences became increasingly demarcated from other fields of learning, and from a self-conscious 'literary' sphere, periodicals frequently served to re-incorporate them into a wider culture'.⁶⁷ For this reason it is important to connect scientific writing within general periodicals both to the wider content within the same page, issue or title and the broader field of science publishing.

This work, together with previous studies of popular science periodicals, highlights that there were many avenues open to science writers in the period. Authors would have to trust that their publisher would market their writings to the most appropriate segment of the reading public. Moreover, publishers often took

⁶⁵ S. Sheets-Pyenson, 'Popular periodicals in Paris and London: the emergence of a low scientific culture, 1820-1875' *Annals of Science*, 42 (1985), 549 – 572; R. Barton, 'Just before Nature: the purposes of science and the purposes of popularization in some English popular science journals of the 1860s', *Annals of Science*, 55 (1998), 1-33.

⁶⁶ K. Boardman, "Charting the golden stream", 510.

⁶⁷ G. Dawson and J. R. Topham, 'Science in the nineteenth-century periodical', *Literature Compass*, 1 (2004).

responsibility for decisions relating to issues such as pricing and format allowing them to exert considerable influence over which readers could access which works, and in what ways, albeit in response to the perceived expectations of the readers they intended to target.⁶⁸ Without investigating what nineteenth-century readers actually consumed, however, it is difficult to gauge the extent to which individuals responded in expected ways or indeed how different forms of science writing overlapped or diverged in terms of the audiences they appealed to, again emphasizing the need to connect studies of authorship with those of circulation and consumption (although as Chapter 2 highlights it can be particularly difficult to reconstruct historical responses to periodical literature).

Authorship, Authority and Anonymity

James Secord's *Victorian Sensation*, a study of *Vestiges of the Natural History of Creation*, provides an exemplary model for the study of Victorian science publishing, especially in its focus on the relationship between the expanding print industries and new forms of scientific knowledge. The critical acclaim with which Secord's work has met and the extent to which it opens up new avenues for research relevant to the field of geographical publishing (which Secord himself does not explicitly consider) make this book worthy of substantial consideration in this context. Presented as 'an experiment in a different kind of history', *Victorian Sensation* considers the 'major historical episode' that surrounded the production and consumption of *Vestiges* by tracing the text 'in all its uses and manifestations – in conversation, solitude, authorship, learned debate, religious controversy, civic politics, and the making of knowledge', producing in the process (we are told) the most 'comprehensive analysis of the reading of any book other than the bible ever undertaken'.⁶⁹

Whereas many historians continue to treat texts as the means by which the insights of authors are transmitted directly to a wider reading public, Secord suggests that textual meaning is altogether more contingent. Rather than celebrating Chambers as a hero of Victorian science, he shifts focus away from authorial intent

⁶⁸ S. Sheets-Pyenson, 'Popular periodicals in Paris and London: the emergence of a low scientific culture, 1820-1875' *Annals of Science*, 42 (1985), 551.

⁶⁹ J. Secord, *Victorian Sensation: The Extraordinary Publication, Reception and Secret Authorship of Vestiges of the Natural History of Creation* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2000), 2.

towards the readership of *Vestiges* in an attempt to provide new insights into the controversy it sparked. In so doing, Secord both disturbs traditional Darwinian-centred explanations of the development of nineteenth-century evolutionary science and, by treating *Vestiges* as 'interpretable material culture', raises fundamental questions about the historiography of reading and its relationship with the history of science.⁷⁰

Secord's priority in *Victorian Sensation* was not to offer up a definitive explanation of Robert Chambers' motivations in preparing his work or to cast judgment on the arguments put forth in *Vestiges*, but rather to examine how different Victorian readers interpreted particular versions of the text according to their own specific social and geographical circumstances. Whilst some critics complained that the author was effectively being 'killed off' in *Victorian Sensation*, Secord is open to the idea that individual readers often approach a given text mindful of what they perceive the author's intentions to be.⁷¹ This becomes more problematic of course when authorship remains unattributed and/or contested. This brings me to Secord's acknowledgement that 'anonymity was a vital asset'.⁷² This holds true both for Robert Chambers – whose secret authorship remained unconfirmed until 1884, some forty years after *Vestiges* first appeared in print – and for Secord himself. For Chambers, it certainly contributed to the sensational status that his text acquired. Whilst many texts were published anonymously in Victorian Britain without prompting much remark, in the fields of history, biography, and science especially, anonymity, however, was increasingly problematic. Secord contends that 'an anonymous book claiming conclusions at the highest theoretical level was a curiosity, and demanded an exceptional degree of trust from its readers' prompting intense speculation over the character responsible for such an undertaking.⁷³

Anonymity is also crucial to Secord's broader aims in undertaking this study. As he notes, many historians of science have acknowledged the importance of

⁷⁰ S.J. Knell, 'Victorian Sensation: The Extraordinary Publication, Reception, and Secret Authorship of *Vestiges of the Natural History of Creation* (Review)' *Victorian Studies*, 45 (2003), 346; C. Smith, 'The politics of progress. Roundtable: James Secord's *Victorian Sensation*' *Journal of Victorian Culture* 8 (2003), 120-121; G. Levine, '[Chambers], Darwin, or historical structures: Secord's sensation. Roundtable: James Secord's *Victorian Sensation*' *Journal of Victorian Culture* 8 (2003), 127; Johns, 'Vestigial sensations. Review symposium', 63.

⁷¹ J. Secord, 'Vestigial sensations. Review symposium. Author's response', *Metascience* 11 (2002), 31.

⁷² Secord, 'Response. Roundtable: James Secord's *Victorian Sensation*', 143.

⁷³ Secord, *Victorian Sensation*, 20.

moving beyond a restricted set of canonical authors but far fewer have actually done so.⁷⁴ In *Victorian Sensation*, Secord seeks to refocus attention towards a work which was widely read in its original publishing context but has since been cast into the shadow of Darwin's *Origin of the Species*. However, in the light of Secord's determination to put readers at the centre of his story, *Victorian Sensation* is not an attempt to replace one heroic man of science with yet another. Chambers' anonymous status substantially aids this approach: if meaning is made at the point of reading and readers do not have a clear idea of authorial identity, then the agency of the reader comes more to the fore. Chambers himself is only visible in *Victorian Sensation* to the degree that he was visible to readers and to others involved in the production of its various editions. Secord seeks to deploy his archival sources in a manner that clearly 'communicate[s] very precisely who knew about the authorship, when, and by what means'.⁷⁵ Further in order to retain the internal consistency of the approach, he also applies this thinking to the other texts that would become central to his argument. Instead of unmasking anonymous reviewers, for example, Secord focuses upon the role that their articles played within individual publications and amidst broader cultures of reviewing.⁷⁶ Secord describes this method as 'researching the 'visual field' of readers in the past: where would they have been sitting, what other books or periodicals would be near them, would they have been reading silently or to others and so forth'.⁷⁷

Replication, Reading and Reception

The influence of scientific texts, then, cannot be understood without considering the conditions surrounding their production, circulation *and* their consumption. The centrality of readers in Secord's account hinges upon the assumption that 'Books do not have a "life" of their own independent from their use'.⁷⁸ Whilst Secord explicitly acknowledges Darnton's influence he also suggests that a strict reading of his model of the 'communications circuit' allows readers to feature only insofar as they are

⁷⁴ Secord, *Victorian Sensation*, 519; Secord, 'Vestigial sensations. Review symposium. Author's response', 29.

⁷⁵ Secord, 'Response. Roundtable: James Secord's *Victorian Sensation*', 143-44.

⁷⁶ Secord, 'Response. Roundtable: James Secord's *Victorian Sensation*', 144.

⁷⁷ Secord, 'Response. Roundtable: James Secord's *Victorian Sensation*', 145.

⁷⁸ Secord, *Victorian Sensation*, 2 n.2; R. Chartier, 'Labourers and voyagers: from the text to the reader' in D. Finkelstein and A. McCleery (eds.), *The Book History Reader* (London: Routledge, 2006), 87.

seen to 'feed back' to the author: 'Darnton's cycle' he argues, 'tends to limit attention to those elements shared among all those in the circuit, thereby making the history of reading an extension of publishing and printing history'.⁷⁹ This is problematic for Secord as it seems to reinforce assumptions in conventional accounts of the diffusion of science from 'highly individualized sites of production to an undifferentiated mass'.⁸⁰ In place of Darnton's model, therefore, he offers the notion of 'literary replication'. As he explains,

The importance of *Vestiges*, and indeed any book, lies not just in the words on the page. The work had to be advertised, carried on trains, placed in shops, talked about, excerpted, and reviewed. This process, in an analogy with experimental practices, can be called 'literary replication'.⁸¹

For Secord, it is essential to realise that textual encounters were not uniform or stable. The history of reading in this form is underpinned by the belief that 'The way a text is printed or bound, the scholarly apparatus of notes and commentary that accompany it, the circumstances under which we first encounter it ... all shape our initial orientation to it'.⁸² Such an approach necessitates that scholars work both within and beyond a given text, exploring how meaning is constructed in and through the printed page by different individuals but also how those meanings change and evolve as the text is repackaged and reshaped in different spaces for different audiences. Thus, Secord is drawn toward detailed examinations of 'the composing, printing, cutting, collating, sewing, and binding of *Vestiges* and other contemporary literary forms' which sit alongside discussions of the content of the book.⁸³ Indeed, as Levine is moved to highlight,

[Secord's] attention to the language [is] as meticulous as detailed as the attention to historical context. Secord connects the very meaning of the book with rhetorical traditions that are themselves revelatory of class and professional status.⁸⁴

⁷⁹ Secord, *Victorian Sensation*, 126; J. Secord, 'Knowledge in transit. Halifax keynote address', *Isis* 95 (2004), 667-668.

⁸⁰ Secord, 'Knowledge in transit', 662.

⁸¹ Secord, *Victorian Sensation*, 126.

⁸² M. Ives, 'A bibliographical approach to publishing', in J.O. Jordan and R.L. Patten (eds.), *Literature in the Marketplace: Nineteenth-Century British Publishing and Reading Practices*, (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1995), 269.

⁸³ Levine, '[Chambers], Darwin, or historical structures: Secord's sensation', 139.

⁸⁴ Levine, '[Chambers], Darwin, or historical structures: Secord's sensation', 129.

Readers of *Vestiges* might share similar physical encounters with particular forms of the work but Secord argues that such experiences were 'also open-ended' in that encounters of *Vestiges* in book form almost inevitably occurred concurrently with encounters of the text in advertising, reviews and conversation.⁸⁵

Crucially, Secord's commitment to moving beyond those heroic figures who dominate traditional histories of science applies as much to readers as it does authors. Thus, while *Victorian Sensation* has much to say about the reception of the text by influential Victorian men of science, including Adam Sedgwick, John Herschel and Thomas Huxley, it also devotes attention to non-elites, particularly the young apprentice Thomas Hirst whose journal entries become the basis of chapter ten. Secord's attempt to put 'ordinary' nineteenth-century readers' interpretations on a par with those emanating from learned elites is a major advance in the historiography of reading.⁸⁶

By situating this discussion of *Victorian Sensation* alongside other major approaches characterizing current scholarship in the history of the book, it should be clear that book historians will find much that is familiar in Secord's work. So much so that they may decide to view his attempt to provide for the nineteenth-century 'a full-length picture of how a substantial range of contemporary readers made meaning from a single work'⁸⁷ as a project designed to provide empirical evidence for theoretical considerations that have gradually come to dominate the history of the book from the 1950s onwards. This would, however, do Secord a great disservice, for he has not only sought to employ insights from the history of the book but rather has made a concentrated effort to improve upon them. As Johns explains,

The difference lies in Secord's admirable ambition to explore, demonstrate and above all cash out these arguments in a detailed historical narrative – the kind of thing that will pass muster with the most respected historians.⁸⁸

For historians of science, *Victorian Sensation* occupies a particular place within current debates surrounding 'Big Picture' historiography versus micro-history. Whilst fragmentation can be an unintended consequence of microhistorical

Secord, *Victorian Sensation*, 350.

⁸⁶ Smith, 'The politics of progress. Roundtable: James Secord's *Victorian Sensation*', 124.

⁸⁷ Secord, *Victorian Sensation*, 521.

⁸⁸ Johns, 'Vestigial sensations. Review symposium', 24.

approaches, 'In its best version, microhistory takes a singular episode from the past and makes it stand for something much bigger than the sum of its parts, without straining the meaning to be teased from the evidence'.⁸⁹ In this instance, Secord's individual readers are the foundations of a bigger picture – without them the story falls apart, yet they are certainly not present simply so that he can highlight diversity of reading experiences for diversity's sake as many cultural studies of reader-reception appear to do. That said, some worry about the implications of Secord's suggestion that it is necessary to contextualise all the printed materials connected to published works like *Vestiges*. Levine, for instance, contends that scholars are faced with an inevitable dilemma – when to stop contextualising? – which threatens to 'make any historical moment almost giddily incoherent'.⁹⁰ In the context of *Victorian Sensation*, for instance, he reasons that in order to overcome this problem, Secord resorts to excessive contextual detail which tends to distract from the matter at hand – namely *Vestiges* itself.

The unsettling effect that this resolutely contextualising approach has upon Levine perhaps stems from his background in literary criticism which is often charged with offering interpretation without contextualisation. For many others, it is precisely such detailed contextualisation that allows Secord to raise new questions about the role of the publishing industry in producing and circulating scientific knowledge. Moreover, Secord reasons that when the importance of materiality in reading experience is stressed, as he attempts to do in *Victorian Sensation*, 'then the resulting stories we can tell are likely to become simpler'. Thus, far from detailed contextualisation making such an approach incomprehensible, rather it is precisely what renders it knowable.⁹¹ Indeed as Secord explains, 'The more completely a case can be situated, the more it reveals wider patterns and structures of response – of competing representations, appropriations, and contests over authority'.⁹²

While *Victorian Sensation* can certainly be seen as an attempt to provide a microhistory of the publication and reception of *Vestiges*, Secord also draws broader conclusions about the role of texts in the formation of industrial society.⁹³ Thus,

⁸⁹ P. Findlen, 'The two cultures of scholarship?', *Isis* 96 (2005), 236.

⁹⁰ Levine, '[Chambers], Darwin, or historical structures: Secord's sensation', 132.

⁹¹ Secord, 'Response. Roundtable: James Secord's Victorian Sensation', 147.

⁹² Secord, *Victorian Sensation*, 519.

⁹³ Secord, 'Response. Roundtable: James Secord's Victorian Sensation', 146.

The big picture no longer depends on the tenuous links between a series of works supposedly about evolution but is structured around a major historical transformation, the industrial revolution in communication. All the changes discussed in the book are simultaneously part of this larger history. The analytical consistency is then embedded in its narrative not in any separable 'theory'.⁹⁴

The work of Secord and others writing in the same field clearly has currency beyond the history of science. Within the context of this thesis, it raises a number of important questions and avenues for further research which can be explored in relation to mid-nineteenth-century geography. Attention to the theme of 'popular science', for instance, requires us to critically examine categories such as 'professional' and 'popular' and to consider how these spheres are constructed in theory and operate (and overlap) in practice. Examinations of popular science periodicals in particular prompt us to consider the extent to which this form of print was implicated in fashioning new audiences for geography and also whether changing market conditions presented significant opportunities for non-geographers (however they might be demarcated) to shape the geographical imaginations of particular readers either through the periodical or other publishing formats. Indeed, whilst the periodical may have been the 'primary means of cultural circulation in the nineteenth century', as Dawson and Topham suggest, there remain questions to be asked about how other publication formats (including books and pamphlets) were also implicated in engaging non-specialists in debates about scientific theory and practice.⁹⁵ Secord has provided one model for examining book publishing but the extent to which the specificity of *Vestiges* (with its anonymous author and sensational reception) limits its extension to other publishing contexts, forms and genres remains an open question. Even if some aspects of Secord's argument have broader applications, it may be necessary to deploy alternative approaches, depending on the particular form of print under consideration. For, as Topham remarks, 'While science journals were clearly of considerable importance in the early nineteenth century, it is striking that with very few exceptions, the publishers responsible for the vast output of books on scientific subjects have received no

⁹⁴ Secord, 'Vestigial sensations. Review symposium. Author's response', 33.

⁹⁵ G. Dawson and J. R. Topham, 'Science in the nineteenth-century periodical', *Literature Compass*, 1 (2004).

attention from historians of science'.⁹⁶ In the case of geography, it could be suggested that almost the opposite is true. Thus the house of John Murray has attracted particular attention in relation to books of travel and exploration, while the operations of other publishers – most notably in relation to periodicals, but also in the field of serial publication – are much less well understood.

1.3 Historical Geographies of the Book

Recent work by historians of science concerned with the connections between print and knowledge production in the nineteenth-century has emphasized the importance of place and location in shaping and re-shaping knowledge as it moves through different spaces at a variety of scales. That there is a geography as well as a history of the book has long been recognised, as for example in Febvre and Martin's 1958 work, *The Coming of the Book*.⁹⁷ In this work, the geography of the book is interpreted through the diffusion of the printed press and the resulting printed materials over space. However, as Withers and Ogborn have recently suggested, this account

is, in essence, a story of the diffusion of something (or some things) already made. As a result it has little to say about how we might construct an account of the technologies of making books (printed or otherwise), of those involved in producing those books, of the books themselves and crucially, of their readers which would show how their diverse geographies can illuminate how those people and things actually come to be as they are.⁹⁸

Despite the evident limitations of the geography of the book as conceived by Febvre and Martin, 'it is only recently that the discipline of book history has consciously engaged with theories and methods in support of geographies of the book'.⁹⁹ Whilst most accept that a spatial sensitivity underlies Darnton's and other attempts to map the 'communications circuit', recent work displays a more explicit engagement with geographical concepts. Nonetheless it remains true that 'If the history of the book is now an established discipline, the geography of the book is still making up its

⁹⁶ Topham, 'Scientific publishing and the reading of science in nineteenth-century Britain', 582.

⁹⁷ L. Febvre and H. Martin, *The Coming of the Book: The Impact of Print, 1450-1800* (London: Verso, 1976 (originally published, 1958)).

⁹⁸ M. Ogborn and C.W.J. Withers, 'Introduction: book geography, book history' in M. Ogborn and C.W.J. Withers (eds.), *Geographies of the Book* (Farnham: Ashgate, 2010), 4-5.

⁹⁹ F.A. Black, 'Constructing the spaces of print culture: book historians' visualization preferences' in M. Ogborn and C.W.J. Withers (eds.), *Geographies of the Book* (Farnham: Ashgate, 2010), 79.

rules'.¹⁰⁰ Such an assertion stems from the fact that scholars have (as in the case of book history) approached book geography from different disciplinary backgrounds and with different understandings of what constitutes geography in this context.

Within the geographical discipline itself, there has been a long running interest in the relationship between space, place and text. However, research in this area has tended to develop along two parallel lines of enquiry focusing either on spaces *in* texts (undertaken under the banner of 'literary geography') or spaces *of* texts (undertaken by what might be called textual geographers).¹⁰¹ As Ogborn observes, 'On the one hand are those who use notions of cultural production and formal aesthetics to produce ever more complex readings of the meanings of texts, spaces and their conjunctions' and 'on the other hand are those whose concern with the geographies of production and dissemination, and with the embodied practices of reading and writing, serves to generate a material historical geography of texts'.¹⁰² This thesis argues, across the grain of this distinction, that attention to geographies of textual production, dissemination and consumption can provide more nuanced understandings of the way that textual meaning can be constructed and contested in specific historical and geographical circumstances. Thus whilst there are differences between the approaches adopted by literary and textual geographers, these distinctions should not be overemphasized.¹⁰³ Textual geographers need not eschew analysis of the spaces within texts and nor is imaginative and creative process the exclusive preserve of literary geographers.

Returning to those scholars who utilise book history approaches to investigate textual or book geography, we find that the relationship between text and space is examined at a variety of scales. For Mayhew, for instance, the geography of the book begins with the space of the printed page. Drawing on the work of

¹⁰⁰ L. Price, 'In another country: colonialism, culture, and the English novel in India (Review)', *Victorian Studies*, 45 (2003), 334; I. Keighren, 'Bringing geography to the book: charting the reception of *Influences of geographic environment*', *Transactions of the Institute of British Geographers*, 31 (2006), 528.

¹⁰¹ A. Saunders, 'Literary geography: re forging the connections', *Progress in Human Geography*, 34 (2010), 437.

¹⁰² M. Ogborn, 'Mapping worlds', *New Formations* (2005-2006), 149.

¹⁰³ See the following for an overview of the development of literary geography as a field including its relationship with textual geography and literary studies: A. Saunders, 'Literary geography: re forging the connections', *Progress in Human Geography*, 34 (2010), 436-452; S. Hones, 'Text as it happens: literary geography', *Geography Compass*, 2 (2008), 1301-1317; M. Brosseau, 'Geography's literature', *Progress in Human Geography*, 18 (1994), 333-353; D.C.D. Pocock, 'Geography and literature', *Progress in Human Geography*, 12 (1988), 87-102.

McGann, Genette and McKenzie (introduced above), he argues that historians of geography ought to pay more attention to the physicality of geographical works rather than simply concentrating upon 'the contexts and contents of geographical books'. As he explains, 'There has been a tendency to focus on the "message" of historical texts, as if this can be meaningfully divided from the print medium in which it is expressed, and that as if that medium is not in and of itself performing expressive functions'.¹⁰⁴ By contrast, Mayhew himself deploys what he terms a 'materialist hermeneutics' approach in order to investigate 'what the history of the material forms of geography books can tell us of the social and intellectual status of geography' in the early-modern period.¹⁰⁵ Such work though, invariably moves outwards from the printed page itself to consider a variety of individuals and practices implicated in the shaping and re-shaping of particular printed objects. As Mayhew demonstrates elsewhere, for instance, an attention to the physical construction of the page can emphasize the role of editors and editing which in turn 'can deepen the move from a concern with the *history* of the book to the *historical geography* of the book by showing how spatially differentiated editorial practice was, this being a contributor to the geographically differentiated production and reception of knowledge'.¹⁰⁶

However, if we accept that materiality can also influence how a work is received, then 'to speak of *the* reception of *a* book is problematic'.¹⁰⁷ Keighren argues that studies of book readership should explicitly identify which editions or volume are under consideration and whenever sources allow address specific copies, study marginalia and provenance to conclude how real readers may have both responded to the materiality of a text but also how they might have physically altered it throughout its lifespan. As such, readers are repositioned effectively as authors, both consuming and producing new knowledge through the act of consumption.

Others focus less resolutely on the spatial arrangement of the page and instead consider the various networks which were implicated in the production and

¹⁰⁴ R.J. Mayhew, 'Materialist hermeneutics, textuality and the history of geography: print spaces in British geography, c.1500–1900', *Journal of Historical Geography*, 33 (2007), 487–488.

¹⁰⁵ Mayhew, 'Materialist hermeneutics, textuality and the history of geography', 471–472.

¹⁰⁶ R.J. Mayhew, 'Printing posterity: editing Varenus and the construction of geography's history' in *Geographies of the Book* in M. Ogborn and C.W.J. Withers (eds.), *Geographies of the Book* (Farnham: Ashgate, 2010), 161.

¹⁰⁷ Keighren, 'Bringing geography to the book', 528.

circulation of printed products in and beyond the publishing and printing houses of specific locations. James Raven, for instance, has attempted to reconstruct what he calls the 'bookscapes' of eighteenth-century London in order to 'offer a multivariate historical mapping of cultural production that evaluates connections between place, personnel, and product, and tracks changing processes and perceptions of literary and artistic endeavour'.¹⁰⁸ Using GIS analysis, he attempts to extend work designed to diagrammatically represent general book-trade networks (as exemplified by Darnton, for example) and that which has focused on mapping specific sites of book-trade activity.¹⁰⁹ Drawing upon historical maps, land tax records, insurance documents and property records among other sources, Raven has described how we might come to appreciate London's multiple book trades using mapping techniques and historical sources which are less familiar to book historians. Doing so, he contends, opens up further avenues for research, as well as avoiding the tendency of the new cultural history to overlook the dynamics of change in specific sites and times. However, to prove effective such site-specific histories need to be brought into conversation with other histories and geographies so that we might begin to consider not only how specific works were produced and circulated within local contexts but also how they moved outwards, across regional and national boundaries in particular material forms. When approached in this way, as Withers suggests, the geography of the book necessarily 'addresses the spatial, to include the displacement of texts, reading, and reviewing practices in different physical and social spaces and the questions of meaning and epistemic significance that arise from such matters of geography'.¹¹⁰ Thus, as Keighren explains further,

Attending to the spaces in which texts are composed, printed, distributed, sold, read and reviewed, the geography of the book attempts to situate ideas, practices and practitioners within geographical context, and to understand how knowledge and ideas are made mobile and circulate between these spaces.¹¹¹

¹⁰⁸ J. Raven, 'Constructing bookscape: experiments in mapping the sites and activities of the London book trades in the eighteenth century', *Humanities Research Group Working Papers, University of Windsor*, 9 (2001), 1.

¹⁰⁹ For a detailed discussion of GIS as a methodological approach to book history see F.A. Black, B.H. MacDonald and J.M.W. Black, 'Geographic information systems: a new research method for book history,' *Book History*, 1 (1998), 11–31; B.H. MacDonald and F.A. Black, 'Using GIS for spatial and temporal analyses in print culture studies: some opportunities and challenges', *Social Science History*, 24 (2000), 505–536.

¹¹⁰ C.W.J. Withers, *Placing the Enlightenment: Thinking Geographically About the Age of Reason*, (Chicago: Chicago University Press, 2007), 51.

¹¹¹ Keighren, 'Bringing geography to the book', 528.

Recent attempts to reconceptualise the geography of the book have been significantly influenced by *Victorian Sensation* and it therefore seems fitting to return momentarily to consider how Secord himself envisages the role of geography in the making of meaning through print. Spatiality is central to the way that Secord makes sense of the reading experiences of the individual readers that dominate the bulk of his book. He contends that the sensation surrounding the publication of *Vestiges* presents a route into wider considerations of what he terms ‘geographies of reading’. As he explains, ‘Victorian towns and cities were defined through the character of their literary life, which was in turn shaped by industrial structure, class, population size, and tradition’.¹¹² Secord’s analysis highlights how particular social, cultural and economic factors intersect in specific spaces influencing how readers respond to given texts. Exploring geographies of reading then necessitates an understanding of not just how texts operate in particular spaces – print spaces, conversational spaces, institutional spaces or regional centres – but crucially must also seek to understand the complex relationship between these different spaces across a number of scales. As Secord acknowledges, the difficulty in developing a geographical analysis of book history ‘is creating a history that keeps the virtues of the local but operates at a unit of analysis larger than a single country’.¹¹³ Such scholarship therefore needs to situate the local within national or global patterns and trends, synthesizing questions of production, dissemination and consumption.

David Livingstone has fleshed out Secord’s notion of ‘geographies of reading’ in order to provide a more comprehensive explanation of how scholars might provide such spatially sensitive histories of the book. He approaches the problem from four angles, considering what he terms ‘spaces of textual circulation’, ‘sites of textual hybridity’, ‘cartographies of textual reception’ and finally ‘a cultural geography of reading’.¹¹⁴ The first of these concepts, spaces of textual circulation, is developed in relation to Edward Said’s work, considering how theory is transformed as it moves through space. Livingstone explains that he is interested in ‘the significance of location in *hermeneutic* encounters by attending to the spaces where texts and readers are brought into dialogue....because science in fundamental ways,

¹¹² Secord, *Victorian Sensation*, 156.

¹¹³ Secord, ‘Knowledge in transit’, 668.

¹¹⁴ Livingstone, ‘Science, text and space: thoughts on the geography of reading’, 391–401.

is about knowledge in transit, about modes of transmission, about acts of communication'.¹¹⁵ However, it is noteworthy that he pays remarkably little attention to the role of publishers and other 'technicians of print' in mediating that encounter between text and reader. While Livingstone is right to assert that we should not become caught up in distinguishing between 'correct' and 'incorrect' readings, it is nevertheless important to destabilise assumptions about authorship and recognise that a wide range of individuals shaped that textual encounter in important ways.

Livingstone does consider the extent to which readers' personal 'literary genealogies' provide a series of reference points which can be drawn upon to make sense of each new textual encounter. Spaces of reading are therefore spaces of 'textual hybridity', bringing new information into conversation with prior learning.¹¹⁶ This conception, and the associated emphasis on hermeneutic encounter, renders reading a highly individualised act but Livingstone argues that it is also possible to explore broader 'cartographies of textual reception'. He asserts that we may identify different cultures of reviewing, for instance, which highlight how particular works provoked specific responses in different locations.¹¹⁷ To make the leap from cartographies of reception to cultural geographies of reading requires, according to Livingstone, an attention not just to elite reviewing cultures but also to 'private sites and conversational spaces'.¹¹⁸ Stanley Fish's notion of interpretative communities helps to bind Livingstone's four concepts together, providing a means of explaining how readers can come to an agreement over textual meaning, transcending their own personal reading histories. Fish contends that

Interpretative communities are made up of those who share interpretative strategies not for reading (in the conventional sense) but for writing texts, for constituting their properties and assigning their intentions. In other words, these strategies exist prior to the act of reading and therefore determine the shape of what is read.¹¹⁹

Each member of an interpretative community draws upon a repertoire of skills when faced with a new example of a text and respond in a similar ways. As Fish asserts, interpretive communities, however, should be viewed as flexible and contingent in

¹¹⁵ Livingstone, 'Science, text and space: thoughts on the geography of reading', 392.

¹¹⁶ Livingstone, 'Science, text and space: thoughts on the geography of reading', 393.

¹¹⁷ Livingstone, 'Science, text and space: thoughts on the geography of reading', 394.

¹¹⁸ Livingstone, 'Science, text and space: thoughts on the geography of reading', 395.

¹¹⁹ S.E. Fish, *Is There a Text in This Class? The Authority of Interpretive Communities*, (Harvard: Harvard University Press, 1980), 171.

that strategies are no more inherent in individuals than meaning is inherent within texts. Thus new strategies can be learned and old ones forgotten, allowing for doubts to emerge over meanings leading to situations where readers do not exactly agree nor entirely disagree with one another.¹²⁰

Livingstone's attention to interpretative communities and his wider discussion of geographies of reading is inspired directly by Secord's work and whilst he uses terms and concepts which are not explicitly articulated in *Victorian Sensation*, in practice the two authors share much common ground. In his own writings on the history of geography, Livingstone is somewhat less concerned with the social and material geographies of book production: what he refers to as 'the material spaces of book production, the distributional networks of mass print, the cultural topography of book buying and the social morphology of lending libraries', subjects which all find a place within *Victorian Sensation*.¹²¹ However, these emphases are more prominent in the scholarship of other historical geographers.

Miles Ogborn's recent work on the importance of 'script and print in the making of the English East India Company' stands out as a particularly well-developed example of the kind of analysis which connects local geographies with material practices and global processes of knowledge making, demonstrating in the process that these phenomena are embroiled in complex webs of power and knowledge.¹²² Ogborn explores varied forms of what he terms 'Indian Ink' ranging from royal letters to cargo labels in order to argue that 'the politics of knowledge works right down to the most basic level of practice' and that these politics are inscribed in print and script.¹²³ He contends that examining the geographies of these various texts, that is 'where and how they were produced, what journeys they took, and how and where they were consumed' can reveal how exactly relationships of power and knowledge essential to imperial and mercantile trading were constituted in and by print.¹²⁴ Both the content and form of documents such as diplomatic

¹²⁰ S.E. Fish, *Is There a Text in This Class?* 171-173.

¹²¹ Livingstone, 'Science, text and space: thoughts on the geography of reading', 392.

¹²² M. Ogborn, *Indian Ink: Script and Print in the Making of the English East India Company* (Chicago: Chicago University Press, 2007); M. Ogborn, 'Writing travels: power, knowledge and ritual on the English East India Company's early voyages', *Transactions of the Institute of British Geographers*, 27 (2002), 156-157; M. Ogborn, 'Geographia's pen: writing, geography and the arts of commerce, 1660-1760', *Journal of Historical Geography*, 30 (2004), 296.

¹²³ Ogborn, *Indian Ink*, xxii.

¹²⁴ Ogborn *Indian Ink*, xxii-xxiii, 21.

letters, for example, are shown to be vital to communicating meaning at every stage of their life, from their production in England, carriage to India and finally, upon delivery serving both to communicate and establish relations of power along the way. However, Ogborn draws attention to the fact that readers in different locations could not always be relied upon to interpret such documents in uniform ways and thus reasons that 'exchanges of documents were always active, and to a certain extent collaborative, processes of construction of meaning in which both sides participated, albeit unequally'.¹²⁵

Ogborn's work highlights that the nation state is not always an adequate scale of analysis, something which is increasingly being acknowledged in projects dedicated to providing national histories of book production and circulation with colonial contexts, for instance, rendering attempts to fashion distinctly 'national' histories problematic. In their introduction to the first volume of the *A History of the Book in America*, which is tellingly subtitled *The Colonial Book in the Atlantic World*, Amory and Hall explain that 'Not only must the early American book trade be located within the contexts of mercantile capitalism, an imperial state system, and religious reformation, it should also be understood as "colonial" in the sense of being structurally interrelated to the book trades of Western Europe, and especially England'.¹²⁶ Book trades in this sense are always the product of distinctly transnational contexts although connecting these broader contexts to local differences within national boundaries remains challenging. Keighren's work too demonstrates that national-scale studies of reception are also in danger of homogenizing what are in reality highly heterogeneous reading experiences. His examination of the reception of the 1911 edition of Ellen Churchill Semple's *Influences of Geographic Environment* provides a more nuanced understanding of the different ways in which the text was read *within* Britain revealing that it was simultaneously understood 'as a timely manifesto for a scientific approach to geographical research, and as a text which might damage the discipline's legitimacy' depending upon where it was read and by whom.¹²⁷ National-scale studies are also

¹²⁵ Ogborn *Indian Ink*, 63.

¹²⁶ H. Amory and D. Hall (eds.), *A History of the Book in America: The Colonial Book in the Atlantic World* (North Carolina: University of North Carolina Press, 2007), 7.

¹²⁷ Keighren, 'Bringing geography to the book', 525-526; I.M. Keighren, 'Reading the messy reception of *Influences of Geographic Environment* (1911)' in M. Ogborn and C.W.J. Withers (eds.), *Geographies of the Book* (Farnham: Ashgate, 2010), 277-298.

shown to be wanting in Withers' examination of the *Encyclopédie*.¹²⁸ While Withers admits that the reception of the *Encyclopédie* is much more difficult to assess than its production, by drawing attention to the subscription rates of different areas, it is clear that 'The *Encyclopédie* may have been largely a Paris creation, but its reception, in terms of subscription sales anyway, was otherwise'.¹²⁹ Withers is also keen to point out that it is not just necessary to consider the geography of such a publication but also the geography within, highlighting that in the case of the *Encyclopédie* the content of the volumes had a particular bearing upon its reception in specific locations, especially given that many of the geographical entries were of questionable quality.¹³⁰

The more recent collaborative research of Withers and Keighren has focused on author-publisher relations in the context of early nineteenth-century travel and exploration narratives. Concerned with the publisher John Murray, in particular, they have built upon existing work highlighting the transformations that travellers' narratives could undergo prior to publication in order to problematize accepted categories such as author, editor and publisher as well as breaking down the traditional dichotomy between writing practices 'in the field' and those which take place 'at home' in preparation for publication. Withers and Keighren argue that it is fruitful to consider the fluid relationship between practices associated with authoring, editing and publishing rather than assigning discrete roles to different individuals. As they explain, in the context of travel and exploration narratives, 'editing was something that geographical authors did and that the processes of geographical authoring and authorising was something publishers acting as editors did, sometimes in association with writers, on occasion not'.¹³¹ This has important consequences for how we think about authorship and consequently authority. By demonstrating that publishers, editors and others not named on title pages had an important role in shaping the content of geographical works, this work urges us look more closely at who we write in and out of the history of geography.

¹²⁸ Withers, *Placing the Enlightenment*, 172-174.

¹²⁹ Withers, *Placing the Enlightenment*, 172.

¹³⁰ Withers, *Placing the Enlightenment*, 172-174.

¹³¹ C.W.J. Withers and I.M. Keighren, 'Travels into print: authoring, editing and narratives of travel and exploration, c.1815-c.1857', *Transactions of the Institute of British Geographers* 36 (2011), 570.

1.4 Thesis Framework and Structure

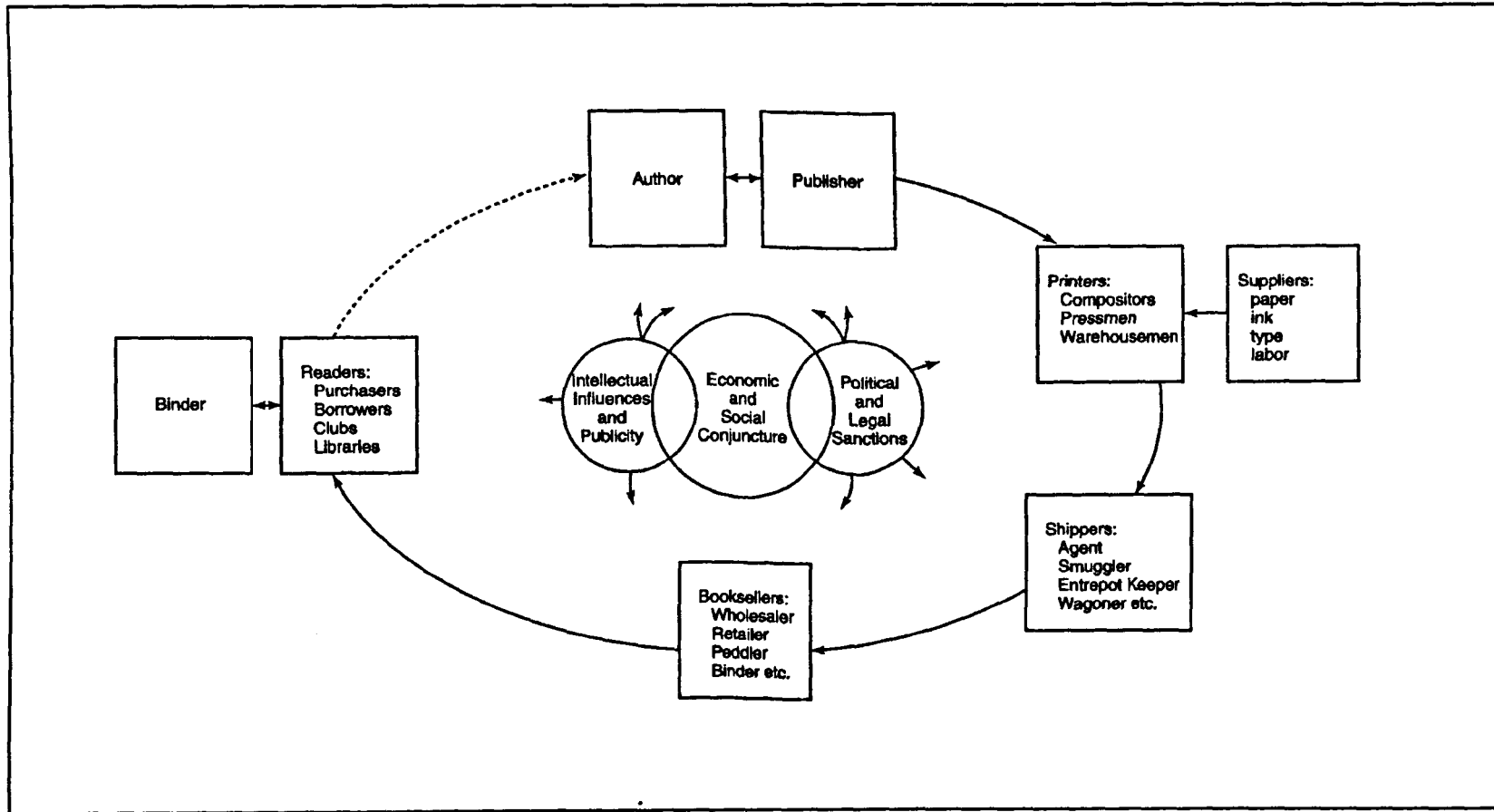
While historical geographers are increasingly concerned with the spatial dimensions of the print trade in specific contexts, it should now be clear that book historians have long engaged with aspects of the geography of the trade, without necessarily bringing the conceptual insights of geographers to bear on their subject. Spatially-sensitive histories of the book like those produced by Darnton and others have much in common with more recent work by geographers. Firstly, both book historians and book geographers widely assert that processes and practices of production, dissemination and consumption cannot be meaningfully separated (although we might critique the extent to which many studies still effectively do so). Secondly, authorial intent must be considered alongside the assumptions and actions of publishers, editors, printers and readers, amongst others, when we come to assess how meaning is made through print. Authorship in this way is understood as very much the product of collaboration rather than individual creativity alone. Thirdly, both fields are open to the possibility that materiality can shape meaning and thus encourage research which focuses not on a single 'authoritative' edition but considers more widely the multitude of forms by which knowledge of a given text might be gained. Secord's concept of literary replication is particularly useful here as it reminds us that knowledge of a text could be gained without ever encountering the original text itself. Thus adverts, reviews and such like are also considered to be important tools of knowledge production. Fourthly, whilst appreciating that materiality can shape interpretation, both book historians and book geographers argue that textual meaning is fluid, being shaped by the particular circumstances of consumption. As a consequence, recent scholarship moves away from considering an amorphous 'public' and considers how and why different interpretations might be reached at a variety of different scales.

This scholarship, then, inspires a research framework which considers the conditions surrounding the production, circulation and consumption of print publications. It encourages us to consider the nature of authorship, the wider network of print surrounding individual works and their reception. What follows develops this approach in a specific historical and geographical context, namely mid-Victorian travel and exploration publishing. Chapter 2 introduces this context and outlines the methodological choices and challenges facing researchers in this field. That chapter

also provides a rationale for the selection of the four case studies which form the substantive core of the thesis. These focus, in turn, on David Livingstone's *Missionary Travels and Researches in South Africa* (Chapter 3), Francis Galton's *The Art of Travel or, Shifts and Contrivances Available in Wild Countries* (Chapter 4), *Vacation Tourists and Notes of Travel* (a series of volumes edited by Galton and published by Macmillan between 1861 and 1864) (Chapter 5) and the *Geographical Magazine* (edited by Clements Markham and published by Trübner between 1874 and 1878) (Chapter 6). The concluding Chapter 7 draws together themes which cut across these case studies and presents wider findings which have future implications for how we approach these and similar works as accounts of travel and exploration in the mid-Victorian period.

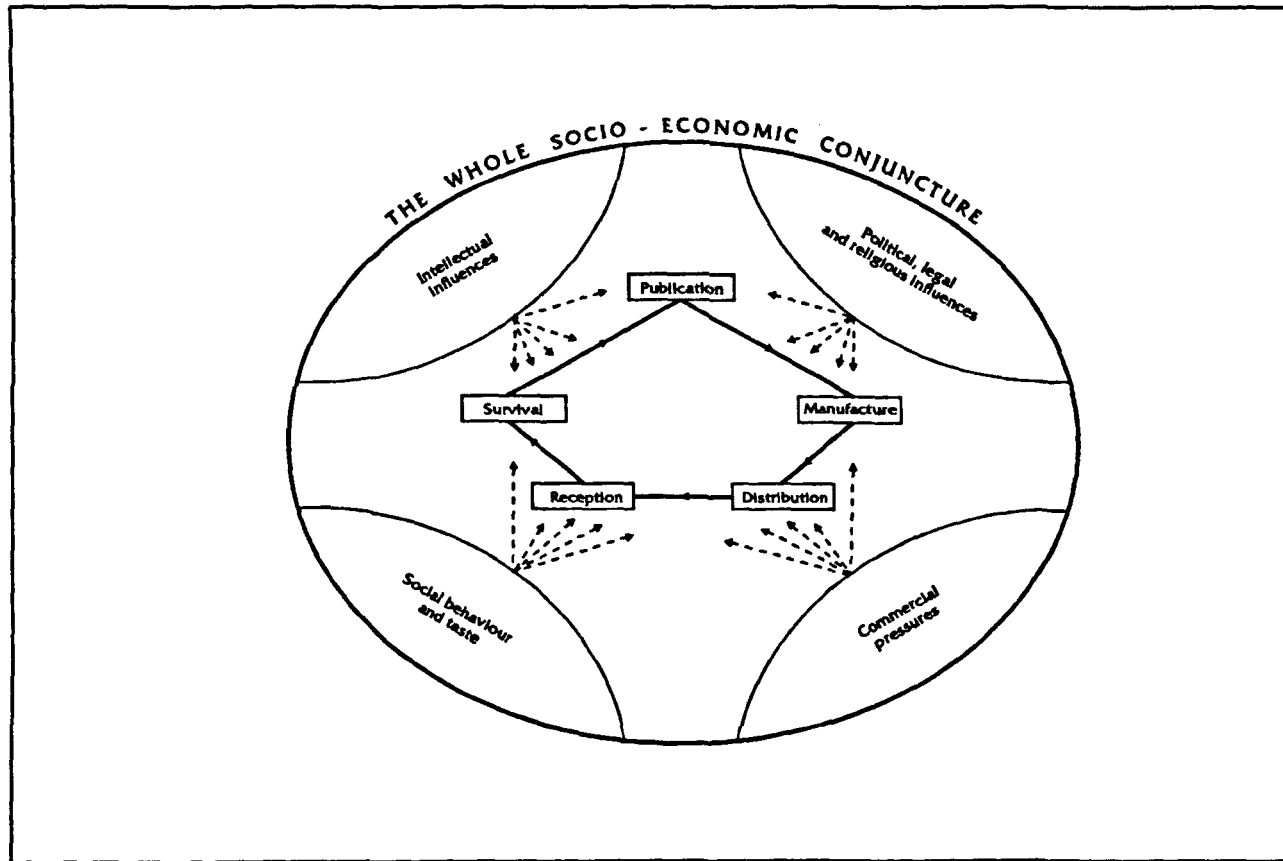
Chapter 1

Figures



1.1 The Communications Circuit

R. Darnton, 'What is the history of books?' *Daedalus*, 111 (1982), p.68



1.2 'A New Model for the History of the Book'

T.R. Adams and N. Barker, 'A New Model for the History of the Book',
in N. Barker (ed.) *A Potencie of Life: Books in Society* (London: British Library, 1993), p.14

Chapter 2

Contexts, Methods and Sources

The previous chapter discussed the major theoretical currents informing this thesis and identified key themes and questions requiring further research. This chapter explores the application of these research questions in a particular historical and geographical context, namely that of mid-Victorian geographical publishing. The first section will address this context directly, examining the contours of what we might broadly identify as geographical publishing in this particular period. Leslie Howsam argues that 'A knowledge of the history of the book trade and its major turning points is an essential starting point for understanding the history of an individual book, author or publishing house'.¹ However, while many recent studies have examined the historical development of publishing and the print trades in Britain we still have relatively scant understanding of the connections between nineteenth-century geographical knowledge and the evolving publishing industry. Identifying the people, institutions, genres and formats which helped to constitute geographical publishing in this period helps to shed greater light on this question. Mapping the contours of geographical publishing as a particular category within a much broader print trade also emphasises the fluid and often contested nature of geography. A study of works, people and practices which might fall under the banner of geographical publishing, even if limited to the mid-Victorian period, could fill this thesis many times over. However, as this overview will highlight, the production and dissemination of various forms of geographical knowledge in this period was largely (though not exclusively) associated with various forms of travel, exploration and discovery, providing a rationale for concentrating on this particular subset of geographical publishing within this thesis.

There are several possible routes through the field of travel and exploration publishing. The methodology adopted in this thesis focuses upon reconstructing the publication, circulation and consumption of four publishing projects in order to offer a broader commentary about the role of publishers and the publishing industry in shaping forms of geographical knowledge associated with travel and exploration. The second section of this chapter thus outlines the basis for this approach, placing it in the wider context of alternative approaches to book historical research. The third section introduces the four case studies, the rationale for their selection and their role

¹ L. Howsam, *Kegan Paul: A Victorian Imprint: Publishers, Books and Cultural History* (London: Kegan Paul International, 1998), 9.

within the thesis. The fourth section surveys the range of archival and print and sources used in this study, indicating their potential in illuminating the production, circulation and reception of publishing projects such as those examined in the remaining chapters of the thesis. The chapter concludes with a discussion of the uses of electronic sources and their implications for the study of the historical geography of print culture in the nineteenth century.

2.1 Context: Mid-Victorian Geographical Publishing

The Royal Geographical Society (RGS), founded in London in 1830, was not the first, nor the only, nineteenth-century institution to promote geographical research and enterprise.² Nor did the RGS function as a formal institution in the same way as the likes of the Royal Society. Rather it acted as ‘an information exchange, an arena in which different kinds of knowledge were accommodated without necessarily being reconciled’.³ In the second half of the century, however, the RGS became the largest scientific society in London and the most prominent and influential body attempting to regulate the production and circulation of geographical knowledge.⁴ For this reason it appears to be a logical starting point for exploring the nature of the relationship between geography and the publishing industry during the nineteenth-century. However, focusing on institutionally-endorsed publication alone risks underplaying the extent to which commercial and philanthropic incentives also drove the trade in geographical publications. What follows, then, considers not only how print was central to the aims and operation of the RGS but also the larger market surrounding geographical publication, and the extent to which these two spheres were intertwined. The nature of the interaction between publishers, authors, editors and readers suggests that there was rarely a rigid division between institutionally-endorsed publishing and more avowedly commercial or ‘popular’ publication.

² Recent research has highlighted the role of the British Association for the Advancement of Science in promoting geography at this time, for example, (alongside geology in Section D from 1831 and with ethnology in Section E from 1851). See C.W.J. Withers, D. Finnegan and R. Higgitt, ‘Geography’s other histories? Geography and science in the British Association for the Advancement of Science, 1831–c.1933’, *Transactions of the Institute of British Geographers*, 31 (2006), 433–451 and C.W.J. Withers, *Geography and Science in Britain, 1831–1939: A Study of the British Association for the Advancement of Science* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2010).

³ F. Driver, *Geography Militant: Cultures of Exploration and Empire* (Oxford: Blackwell, 2004), 21.

⁴ Driver, *Geography Militant*, 24.

The conditions under which the RGS came into being indicate the extent to which the production, collection and dissemination of printed materials was built into the constitution of what would become the most significant regulator of geographical knowledge in Victorian Britain. On May 24th 1830, at a meeting of the Raleigh Travellers' Association, a resolution was passed which saw the creation of a society whose principal concern was to be the 'promotion and diffusion of that most important and entertaining branch of knowledge, Geography'.⁵ The formation of the Geographical Society of London reflected more than the aspirations of an elite dining club. The pages of the *Literary Gazette*, for instance, had for some time previously been used to promote the idea of a geographical society:

It is a great desideratum among our literary and scientific associations. Our numerous travellers returning home would continually bring novelty and information; and the meetings could not fail to be of the most agreeable and instructive kind. We are persuaded it only needs three or four active and influential persons to originate such a plan, in order to ensure its perfect success.⁶

This call for action from the Editor, William Jerdan, published in May 1828, was followed up in September of that year with a letter from William Huttman of the Royal Asiatic Society:

No country is so deeply interested as England in the acquisition of a correct knowledge of the physical, moral, and political geography of every part of the world; yet, while we have societies for the cultivation of almost every other branch of knowledge, we have none for the cultivation of that science on which our political and commercial prosperity so greatly depends.⁷

Huttman envisaged a society which would promote and facilitate the collection and exchange of geographical knowledge, knowledge which was intimately linked to travel and exploration in his eyes. Jerdan and Huttman garnered further support for their cause leading to the preparation of a prospectus for a London Geographical

⁵ 'Prospectus of the Royal Geographical Society', *Journal of the Royal Geographical Society* 1 (1831), vii.

⁶ W. Jerdan, 'To correspondents', *Literary Gazette and Journal of Belles Lettres, Arts, Sciences, &c.* 12 (1828), 334.

⁷ [W. Huttman] 'Original correspondence: geographical society proposed', *Literary Gazette and Journal of Belles Lettres, Arts, Sciences, &c.* 12 (1828), 600.

Society which was summarised in the *Literary Gazette* of May 8th, 1830.⁸ However, they were beaten to their goal by another group consisting of eminent travellers, naval officers and scientists including Francis Beaufort, William Henry Smyth and Admiralty Secretary John Barrow, who chaired the meeting of the Raleigh Club at which the resolution to form the Geographical Society of London was passed.⁹

Both groups had proposed similar institutions but it was widely accepted that Barrow's involvement would be crucial to making any society successful. The six-point prospectus which he and his associates had prepared outlining the aims of the new Society emphasised the connection between travel and exploration, and the production of new geographical knowledge. Firstly, it was to fall to the Society to 'collect, register and digest and to print ... such new interesting and useful facts and discoveries as the Society may have in its possession, and may from time to time acquire'.¹⁰ Secondly, as well as commissioning works itself, the Society would build up a stock of 'the best books on geography – a complete collection of maps and charts ... as well as all such documents and materials as may convey the best information to persons intending to visit foreign countries'.¹¹ Thirdly, the society would gather 'specimens of such instruments as experience has shown to be most useful and best adapted to the compendious stock of the traveller'.¹² Fourthly, continuing the emphasis upon equipping travellers with the necessary knowledge and materials, the Society would itself 'prepare brief instructions ... pointing out the parts most desirable to be visited, the best and most practicable means of proceeding thither, the researches most essential to make, phenomena to be observed, the subjects of natural history most desirable to be procured, and to obtain all such information as may tend to the extension of our geographical knowledge'.¹³ The

⁸ W. Jerdan, *The Autobiography of William Jerdan with his Literary, Political, and Social Reminiscences and Correspondence During the Last Fifty Years*, Volume 4 (London: Arthur Hall Virtue & Co., 1853), 269-270; W. Jerdan, 'Geography: new society', *Literary Gazette and Journal of Belles Lettres, Arts, Sciences, &c.* 14 (1830), 305.

⁹ W. Jerdan, *Men I Have Known* (London: George Routledge and Sons, 1866), 44-45.

¹⁰ 'Prospectus of the Royal Geographical Society', vii; H.R. Mill, *The Record of the Royal Geographical Society 1830-1930* (London: The Royal Geographical Society, 1930), 17.

¹¹ 'Prospectus of the Royal Geographical Society', vii; H.R. Mill, *The Record of the Royal Geographical Society*, 17.

¹² 'Prospectus of the Royal Geographical Society', viii; H.R. Mill, *The Record of the Royal Geographical Society*, 17.

¹³ 'Prospectus of the Royal Geographical Society', viii; H.R. Mill, *The Record of the Royal Geographical Society 1830-1930* (London: The Royal Geographical Society, 1930), 17.

final two points expressed a desire to 'correspond with similar Societies' and 'to open communication with all those philosophical and literary societies with which Geography is connected'.¹⁴ By enacting these six principles, the newly-formed Society hoped to regulate how geographical knowledge was produced and disseminated, notably through print.¹⁵

The new Society sought to promote geography as a subject of public as well as scientific interest, especially in the context of exploration.¹⁶ This vision, guiding both the development of the Society and the promotion of geographical research, reflects the heterogeneous character of geography in this period. While promoters of other subjects sought to carve out a niche for themselves by developing and demonstrating specialist expertise, geography under the impetus of the RGS rapidly became a 'science of synthesis', drawing insights from other fields and repackaging them in such a way as they might contribute to a 'general science of the earth and its inhabitants'.¹⁷ The desire of the RGS to be at the heart of an information exchange between explorers, scientists, government officials, foreign geographical societies and the wider public at large brought vast swathes of information flooding through the Society's headquarters. As Driver explains,

Knowledge about exploration was transmitted during this period through a wide range of different channels: formal reports (in the shape of narratives, maps, charts and tables) presented to government departments such as the Admiralty or the Foreign Office; papers given to an increasing number of specialist scholarly, scientific, missionary and philanthropic societies; books describing and illustrating voyages and travels, intended for a wider audience; journal and magazine articles reviewing, and sometimes promoting, the work of exploring expeditions; and imaginative literature of all kinds, including adventure stories and juvenile fiction.¹⁸

In other words, print was crucial to facilitating the flow of geographical information within and beyond the Society, a fact which its founders clearly recognised.

¹⁴ 'Prospectus of the Royal Geographical Society', viii; H.R. Mill, *The Record of the Royal Geographical Society 1830-1930* (London: The Royal Geographical Society, 1930), 18.

¹⁵ Driver, *Geography Militant*, 28.

¹⁶ Driver, *Geography Militant*, 27.

¹⁷ M. Bell, R. A. Butlin and M. J. Heffernan, 'Introduction: geography and imperialism, 1820-1940' in M. Bell, R. A. Butlin and M. J. Heffernan (eds.), *Geography and Imperialism, 1820-1940* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1995), 4; Driver, *Geography Militant*, 2-3.

¹⁸ Driver, *Geography Militant*, 2.

Geography was not just a subject to be written and read about: travel in general and field observation in particular played a central role in the acquisition of geographical knowledge, especially through exploration. Yet, at the same time, 'the idea of exploration was freighted with multiple and contested meanings, associated variously with science, literature, religion, commerce and empire'.¹⁹ Claims to knowledge on the basis of observation in the field had to be verified in the metropolis, and so print became a crucial means of constructing a case for or against the acceptance of particular claims. This was especially true in the context of expeditionary travel. Indeed as Richard Thornton asserts in the context of African exploration, 'Had the great Victorian travellers not written anything, it would not be said today that they had "discovered" anything'.²⁰ Geographical texts then can be understood as important 'articulations of practices', crucial to constructing, communicating and contesting claims to knowledge, especially where those claims were the result of travel and exploration.²¹ Print did not simply validate the work of individual members of the Society though: it also helped to establish the RGS as an important scientific institution more widely, as Barnett confirms: 'The publications of the RGS were ... integral to its scientific credentials, which depended upon the knowledge it produced being open to rational public scrutiny'.²²

This fact was recognized by the RGS Council who rejected the offer of 'one enterprising weekly journal to be allowed to report [its] proceedings' in favour of establishing its own publication outlet although Jerdan's *Literary Gazette* continued to report on the Society's meetings in an unofficial capacity.²³ From 1831, following discussions between the Council and publisher John Murray II (who was also a founding member of the Society), the *Journal of the Royal Geographical Society* operated as an important channel for disseminating news of the Society's

¹⁹ Driver, *Geography Militant*, 2.

²⁰ R. Thornton, 'Narrative ethnography in Africa, 1850-1920: the creation and capture of an appropriate domain for Anthropology', *Man*, 18 (1983), 509; F. Driver, 'Missionary Travels: Africa and the book', Public lecture in the *Great Books on Africa* series, Basler Afrika Bibliographien/ University of Basel, May 2007.

²¹ Driver, *Geography Militant*, 8.

²² C. Barnett, 'Impure and worldly geography: the Africanist discourse of the Royal Geographical Society, 1831-73', *Transactions of the Institute of British Geographers* 23 (1998), 242.

²³ Mill, *The Record of the Royal Geographical Society*, 37; Jerdan, *The Autobiography of William Jerdan*, 272.

work both to other members and the wider public, carrying texts of papers read before the Society, lists of recently published works, 'miscellaneous' geographical information and from 1838, an annual survey of geographical researches. Scaled back during the 1840s the *Journal* was revived along with the Society's fortunes during the 1850s and 1860s as Roderick Murchison in particular vigorously promoted the utility of geographical and cartographic knowledge in advancing British interests abroad.²⁴ Papers on Africa and the Polar Regions, for instance, abounded as the public became captivated by the quest to locate the source of the Nile and the ongoing search for Franklin. The *Journal* also reflected the increasing interest in regulating travel and observation, epitomized by the inclusion of the Hints to Travellers sub-committee report of 1854 (as discussed in Chapter 4).

In the latter half of the 1850s, under the influence of Francis Galton, the Society established a second periodical. *Proceedings of the Royal Geographical Society*, was published in parts before being bound into volumes corresponding to the sessions of the Society (October through to June) so that they might provide a more up-to-the-minute account of the Society's undertakings. The *Proceedings* were handled by map-publisher (and Society Fellow) Edward Stanford while Murray continued to publish the *Journal*. The content of the two publications overlapped although the *Proceedings* with its focus upon maps, letters and progress reports had a distinct function.

In the later decades of the century the focus within both the *Journal* and *Proceedings* began to shift for, as Middleton points out, 'By the 1870s, primary exploration of the habitable continents had reached a stage when the individual traveller was giving way to the engineer, the homesteader, the missionary and the merchant' and so the emphasis began to shift away from reporting new "discoveries" towards considering how the geographical information collected thus far could be put to use.²⁵ Together these publications provide an important insight into the operations of the Society, reminding us in particular of the heterogeneous character of geography and the fact that while mapping the world was a central concern for the Society this did not always have to involve direct experience, with

²⁴ Mill, *The Record of the Royal Geographical Society*, 49-50, 57; D. Middleton, 'Guide to the publications of the Royal Geographical Society 1830-1892', *Geographical Journal* 144 (1978), 101-107.

²⁵ Middleton, 'Guide to the publications of the Royal Geographical Society', 110.

theoretical geographers including James MacQueen and William Desborough Cooley also making a significant contribution to this project. However, while scholars have focused upon the content of the periodicals, less attention has been paid to the conditions surrounding their immediate production, and distribution as well as their wider reception beyond the scholarly community. In his 1930 study celebrating the centenary of the Society, for example, Mill remarked that

If space permitted it would be interesting to relate the incidents of the earlier years of the *Journal*, the loyalty with which copies were laid before His Majesty and the little Princess Victoria for their approval and education, the pride with which a second edition of the earlier issues was called for, the chagrin when the publishers declined to warehouse the accumulating piles of later numbers when the public demand was over-estimated, the bickering as to the commission payable to the august publisher, the experiments with an independent editor whose dilatory ways the publication far in arrear, and the difficulties as to the distribution to Fellows.²⁶

More than eighty years later, these and many other important stories have yet to be told.

The *Journal* and *Proceedings* of the RGS though were, of course, not the only periodical publications involved in the promotion and dissemination of geographical information. The relationship between the Society and the wider periodical press deserves further consideration in this context. Recent work has highlighted, for instance, that influential RGS Fellows regularly wrote geographical articles for the wider reading public both prior to and during their associations with the Society. John Barrow, a prolific contributor to Murray's *Quarterly Review*, has received most attention in this respect as several studies have lately examined the way that Arctic and African exploration was portrayed in the periodical press during the nineteenth century.²⁷ In particular, Cavell has highlighted that it was not only the

²⁶ Mill, *The Record of the Royal Geographical Society*, 49-50.

²⁷ J.B. Cutmore discusses the debate surrounding the attribution of the *Review*'s articles to Barrow in 'Sir John Barrow's contributions to the *Quarterly Review* 1809-24', *Notes and Queries*, 41 (1994), 326-328. On the role of the periodical press in shaping perceptions of the Arctic see J. Cavell, *Tracing the Connected Narrative: Arctic Exploration in British Print Culture, 1818-1860* (Toronto and London: University of Toronto Press, 2008); K. Wheatley, 'The Arctic in the *Quarterly Review*', *European Romantic Review*, 20 (2009), 465-490; S. Yan, 'Voyages and visions: imag(in)ing the Arctic in the Victorian periodical, 1850s-1870s', *NTU Studies in Language and Literature* 16 (2006), 53-82; B. Riffenburgh, *The Myth of the Explorer: the Press, Sensationalism, and Geographical Discovery* (Oxford and New York: Oxford University Press, 1994).

expensive quarterlies which have traditionally dominated such discussions which carried news of geographical “discovery” but also a much wider range of general and specialist periodicals, encouraging us to widen our focus significantly.²⁸ Similarly, it is important to consider not only how self-designated geographers and travellers utilised the periodical press but also the much wider range of authors who popularised (if not heroicised) geography in this way through general literary publications targeting a wide range of readerships.

Returning to the RGS, some of the most influential Council members were also involved in editing geographical works intended for non-specialist audiences. The activities of Francis Galton and Clements Markham, to take the most prominent examples, will be subject of subsequent chapters (5 and 6 respectively). However, these individuals were certainly not alone in attempting to introduce the wider reading public to knowledge obtained through travel and exploration. H.W. Bates, for instance, edited *Illustrated Travels: A Record of Geography, Discovery and Adventure*, for publisher Cassell, Petter and Galpin between 1869 and 1874 while he was Assistant Secretary to the Society.²⁹ Scholars have yet to investigate the conditions under which Bates took up this role, the extent to which he exerted his control over the publication or the responses it provoked or indeed to ask broader questions about the role of such periodicals in shaping nineteenth-century geographical imaginations (something which Chapters 5 and 6 attempt to redress).

The influence of RGS Fellows in shaping how geographical knowledge was put into print extended beyond well the periodical press. While the *Journal* and *Proceedings* were its primary publication channels, the production and publication of maps was also central to the Society’s operation. In the context of exploration they were a crucial tool for those undertaking fieldwork but also a primary means of attempting to demonstrate claims to “discovery”. A significant number of prominent cartographers and map-publishers were among the Society’s Fellowship with several occupying influential positions on the Council. They were responsible for producing and publishing cartographic works for Society-sponsored expeditions, its publications and the Map Room in addition to their private commercial undertakings

²⁸ Cavell, *Tracing the Connected Narrative*.

²⁹ H.W. Bates (ed.), *Illustrated Travels: A Record of Geography, Discovery and Adventure* (London: Cassell, Peter and Galpin, 1869-1874).

(which often overlapped considerably with the Society's activities of course). Edward Stanford is a case in point. During the 1850s he became a Fellow of the Society (1853), undertook the publication of the *Proceedings* (1855) and founded Stanford's Geographical Establishment (1857). As Herbert explains, the firm also came to own the maps of the Society for the Diffusion of Useful Knowledge and prepared works for the Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge, the National Society, the Metropolitan Board of Works, the Palestine Exploration Fund, and the school board of London.³⁰ Similarly, John Arrowsmith occupied a place on the Council between 1851 and 1868 and was one of the most prolific contributors to the Society's publications, (producing 181 maps for the *Journal* over 43 years).³¹ As well as producing maps for the Society directly, Arrowsmith was also responsible for a number of the maps which accompanied the commercial narratives which invariably followed expeditionary travel, including that within Livingstone's *Missionary Travels* (see Chapter 3). The firm of Alexander Findlay is another such example. The elder Alexander Findlay was a founding member of the RGS while his son was elected as a Fellow in 1844 and went on to serve on the Society's Council. The younger Findlay was in charge of the firm from 1858 and was heavily involved in charting the Arctic and Africa, providing advice as to Franklin's likely location and supplying maps for Burton and Speke's 1858-59 expedition in search of the Nile sources. He was also a highly-regarded publisher of hydrographical works producing a series of navigational guides between 1869 and 1875. These and many other cartographers and map-publishers besides played an important role in facilitating travel and exploration but also in providing means of disseminating the expanding store of geographical information at their disposal.³²

³⁰ F. Herbert, 'Stanford, Edward (1827-1904)', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, Online Edition (Oxford University Press, 2004), accessed 10 Sept 2011. On the maps of the Society for the Diffusion of Useful Knowledge specifically see M.T. Cain, 'The maps of the Society for the Diffusion of Useful Knowledge: a publishing history', *Imago Mundi* 46 (1994), 151-167.

³¹ C. Verner, *Maps by John Arrowsmith in the Publications of the Royal Geographical Society, Map Collectors' Series* 8 (76) (London: Map Collectors' Circle, 1971), 3.

³² E. Baigent, 'Findlay, Alexander George, the younger (1812-1875)', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, Online Edition (Oxford University Press, 2004), accessed 10 Sept 2011; F. Herbert, 'The Royal Geographical Society's membership, the map trade and geographical publishing in Britain 1830 to ca 1930: an introductory essay with listing of some 250 Fellows in related professions', *Imago Mundi* 35 (1983), 67-95.

Many map-publishers including those associated with the RGS were heavily involved in producing educational works. Although some historians of geographical education herald the 1870 Education Act as marking the beginning of a sustained attempt to publish geographical texts for school children, it is clear that publishers were exploiting this market much earlier than the advent of mass education.³³ Prior to the nineteenth century the encyclopaedia, gazetteer and the grammar were all intended to provide readers with access to geographical information and such forms persisted in the present century.³⁴ From the 1830s, Longman led the development of a trade in general textbooks, including the *Manual of Geography* by William Hughes (who appears in Chapter 6 in relation to his role as editor of the popular periodical *Our Ocean Highways*). Whereas school teachers had traditionally authored their own textbooks, with the expansion of fee-paying education as well as state funding came the expectation of standardisation of teaching.³⁵ This market expanded further after 1862 with Robert Lowe's Revised Code. Among those houses to take full advantage of the increasing educational demand were Oxford University Press, Meiklejohn & Son, Thomas Nelson and Son and J.M. Dent who expanded into growing colonial markets.³⁶ Several publishers also produced maps and atlases specifically for use in educational contexts including George Philip and Son which specialised in map-publishing and geographical educational works (see Chapter 6). Philips like many other firms incorporated the latest 'discoveries' and theories into their works, producing for instance, 'the first general map of the Arctic Regions' displaying McClure's discovery of the North-West Passage as part of series of large-scale maps by the likes of Bartholomew, Petermann and Hughes which were combined to form the folio-format *Imperial General Atlas*.³⁷

However, despite the growing number of such works, the leadership of the RGS expressed increasing anxiety about the state of geographical education. Such

³³T. Ploszajska, *Geographical Education, Empire and Citizenship: Geographical Teaching and Learning in English Schools, 1870-1944* (London: Historical Geography Research Group, 1999).

³⁴C. W. J. Withers and R. J. Mayhew, 'Rethinking 'disciplinary' history: geography in British universities, c. 1580-1887', *Transactions of the Institute of British Geographers* 27 (2002), 19.

³⁵A. Weedon, *Victorian Publishing: The Economics of Book Production for a Mass Market, 1836-1916*. (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2003), 110-115.

³⁶L. Gardiner, *Bartholomew: 150 Years* (Edinburgh: John Bartholomew & Son, Ltd 1976), 110.

³⁷G. Philip, *The Story of the Last Hundred Years: A Geographical Record* (London, George Philip & Son Limited, 1934), 36-38.

concern was unsurprising given the uneven quality of educational textbooks, atlases and maps. Although some publishers produced highly regarded works (Murchison applauded Somerville's *Physical Geography* in particular)³⁸ others took advantage of technological innovations to produce cheap, low-quality reprints of existing maps. George Cruchley, for instance, exploited this revisions market from the 1830s onwards giving customers the opportunity to choose between black and white or coloured maps, offering a mail order service and even printing on handkerchiefs for those that desired it, perhaps as a means of distracting from the poor quality of the maps themselves.³⁹

The expeditions which inspired so many of the periodical articles, atlases and maps discussed so far were also the source of scores of published exploration narratives. Thus, although expeditions had long spawned printed outputs, as Cavell suggests, 'individual separately published narratives written by explorers themselves became the dominant form only towards the end of the [eighteenth] century'.⁴⁰ That is not to say that there was no longer an appetite for older-style accounts of travel, however. In 1847, the Hakluyt Society was established with the remit of printing and disseminating 'rare and valuable voyages, travels and geographical records'.⁴¹ Markham argued that these historical records were important sources for contemporary geographers:

This is a legitimate part of the work of geographers. For the narratives of travellers and navigators make us acquainted with the earth, its inhabitants and productions; they exhibit the growth of intercourse among mankind, with its effects on civilization, and, while instructing, they at the same time awaken attention by recounting the toils and adventures of those who first explored unknown and distant regions.⁴²

³⁸ [R. Murchison], 'Presentation of the Royal Awards', *Journal of the Royal Geographical Society* 39 (1869), cxxxiii-cxxxiv.

³⁹ D. Smith, 'Cruchley, George Frederick (1796/7–1880)', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, (online ed.) (Oxford University Press, 2006).

⁴⁰ Cavell, *Tracing the Connected Narrative*, 16.

⁴¹ D. Middleton, 'The early history of the Hakluyt Society 1847–1923', *The Geographical Journal* 152 (1986), 21; R.C. Bridges and P.E.H. Hair, *Compassing the Vaste Globe of the Earth: Studies in the History of the Hakluyt Society, 1846–1996: With a Complete List of the Society's Publications* (London: Hakluyt Society, 1996).

⁴² C.R. Markham, *The Fifty Years' Work of the Royal Geographical Society* (London: John Murray, 1881), 46.

The RGS and the Hakluyt Society were closely linked throughout the nineteenth-century. More generally, as Markham's comment suggests, travel writing was conceived as an important contribution to geographical knowledge.

The publication of travel and exploration narratives was a core part of the business of some of the best known nineteenth-century publishers. Several well-established publishing houses augmented their reputations by producing scores of expensive, lavishly illustrated volumes, with John Murray in particular dominating the field. As Riffenburgh explains, the books published in the 1850s and 1860s 'were based on tales of danger, bravery, and heroism, but the authors also frequently became propagandists, intertwining throughout the adventurous happenings passionate arguments for their causes and using scientific, religious or humanitarian reasoning to intensify their appeal to the sympathy or indignation of the readers'.⁴³ This has led some scholars to focus on the extent to which expeditionary narratives were integral to a broader culture of empire.⁴⁴ Recent scholarship has highlighted the fact that these published accounts were not simply records of the facts as the author saw them 'on the spot'. The work of Finkelstein, Bridges and MacLaren for instance, draws attention to the process of 'writing up' that occurred between the moment of being in the field and that of publication.⁴⁵ Highlighting disparities between different versions of a text also renders problematic the association between authorship and authority. Published accounts repeatedly claimed that their authors alone were qualified to recount the discovery and collection of geographical knowledge because only they had first-hand experience of their encounters. Although they did not display the imprint of the RGS, they were often publicly endorsed by Council members and attracted significant attention from other Fellows. Indeed one of the

⁴³ Riffenburgh, *The Myth of the Explorer*, 42.

⁴⁴ E.g. M.L. Pratt, *Imperial Eyes: Travel and Transculturation* (London: Routledge, 1992); E. Said, *Orientalism* (London, Routledge, 1978); T. Youngs, *Travellers in Africa: British Travelogues 1850-1900* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1994); A. White, *Joseph Conrad and the Adventure Tradition: Constructing and Deconstructing the Imperial Subject* (Cambridge, Cambridge University Press, 1993).

⁴⁵ D. Finkelstein, 'Africa rewritten: the case of John Hanning Speke' in D. Finkelstein, *The House of Blackwood: Author Publisher Relations in the Victoria Era* (Pennsylvania, Pennsylvania University Press, 2002), 49-69; R. Bridges, 'Explorers' texts and the problem of reactions by non-literate peoples: some nineteenth-century East African examples, *Studies in Travel Writing* 2 (1998), 65-84; I.S. MacLaren, 'Exploration, 'Exploration/travel literature and evolution of the author', *International Journal of Canadian Studies* 5 (1992), 39-68; I.S. MacLaren, 'From exploration to publication: the evolution of a 19th-century Arctic narrative', *Arctic* 47 (1994), 43-53.

challenges which any explorer-turned-author would need to deal with was how to satisfy a variety of different groups simultaneously. Publishers and their employees had a significant impact in this respect, offering travellers 'literary assistance' to ensure that their works were appealing enough to encourage large sales but not so polished so as to suggest that anyone other than the named author had had a hand in their preparation. Achieving this balance was important because from the mid-eighteenth century onwards, authors of expeditionary accounts sought to establish a link between simplicity of style and veracity of content, explaining that while they lacked the literary talents of professional authors, they were nevertheless qualified to speak the 'simple truth'. Therefore, as Cavell explains, 'Any obvious attempt at literary effect was equated with artifice and insincerity, while some awkwardness or dullness in the writing was not only acceptable but seen as welcome proof of a book's authenticity'.⁴⁶

Recent work has moved from comparing field notes and journals with manuscripts and published texts to paying greater attention to how this pre-publication process of revision allowed publishers to shape responses to these texts.⁴⁷ Moreover, works like Cavell's *Tracing the Connected Narrative* place expeditionary texts within a broader publishing network, highlighting the fact that readers did not only encounter these narratives in book form. The expensive, lavishly illustrated volumes published by the likes of Murray and Blackwood were beyond the reach of much of the reading public ensuring that periodical reviews, libraries and piratical publishers also played an important role in extending the reach of such works (as discussed in Chapter 3).

Works which were well received in the wider press could often provoke criticism within the geographical community. As the century progressed it became increasingly important to demonstrate that one was a credible contributor to knowledge, not simply by appealing to first-hand experience, but also by showing that claims to knowledge were based on standardised methods of observation and

⁴⁶ Cavell, *Tracing the Connected Narrative*, 18-19, 78-79.

⁴⁷ Koivunen and Barringer in particular have highlighted that this process applied to images as much as it did words. L. Koivunen, *Visualizing Africa in Nineteenth-Century British Travel Accounts* (New York: Routledge, 2009) and T. Barringer, 'Fabricating Africa: Livingstone and the visual image 1850-1874' in J.M. MacKenzie (ed.), *David Livingstone and the Victorian Encounter with Africa*, (London: National Portrait Gallery, 1996), 169-200.

notation. This was not unique to geography, but rather was part of a more general shift towards regulating and standardising fieldwork across all branches of the sciences. Consequently, a genre of instructions for travellers developed as institutions began to prepare guides for their members. However, such guides did not simply present a confident, unified approach to data collection and recording but rather were produced in response to a growing anxiety about the quality of knowledge being produced through observations in the field. As Chapters 3 and 6 highlight, there was considerable debate within the RGS over the form that instructions for travellers ought to take and also over which individuals should be encouraged to undertake geographical research. This context also inspired a sub-genre of guides for travellers which were produced not necessarily with the official endorsement of institutions like the RGS, Admiralty or Ethnological Society but by men who were closely linked to such societies. Chapter 4 considers one of these manuals, *The Art of Travel or, Shifts and Contrivances Available in Wild Countries*, which have yet to receive the kind of attention that has been directed towards institutionally-endorsed publications. The nature of the relationship between these two strands of instructional texts warrants further consideration (as discussed in Chapter 4).

The tourist guidebook was another important sourcebook for those travellers who preferred more leisurely tours of Britain and the continent (not to mention those that were happy to remain in their armchairs of course). The travel guides that would prove to be a staple for a number of publishing houses in the nineteenth century were a decided break from guides that had appeared previously and an important means of shaping the geographical knowledge of middle-class travellers. Whereas travel had been highly fashionable during the eighteenth century, the heyday of the Grand Tour, such an excursion was so reliant upon the services of servants that the wealthy rarely had to concern themselves with the mundane practicalities of travel. Between 1820 and 1850, however, the infrastructure required for cross-continental travel improved dramatically. As travel took on a new meaning in the nineteenth century, however, a market developed for precisely the kind of guide that could assist the traveller who was intent on maintaining their independence (in contrast to the ordinary tourist) yet

still required practical guidance, inspiring a new form of guidebook.⁴⁸ The genre was in this sense borne out of necessity.

While John Murray, who dominated the English guidebook market with the firm's series of *Handbooks*, acknowledged that the guidebook itself was not a new phenomenon, he was critical of his predecessors' failure to communicate what was unique about a given location. In highlighting features that supposedly represented the essential character of a place, Murray and other publishers of similar guides were actively involved in creating senses-of-place, reducing locations to a set of identifiable features, while reinforcing the distinction between 'home' and 'away'.⁴⁹ By providing instruction on the minutiae of travel the publisher-authors of such books were able literally to 'script' the encounter between traveller and the landscape, to use Derek Gregory's analogy.⁵⁰ While Murray was disdainful of the package tourist, others were more willing to exploit the market that this form of travel presented. Printed guides were an integral part of Thomas Cook's tours which began in 1840 and Cook would use the periodical press to advertise forthcoming excursions, with such notices sitting alongside large numbers of advertisements for products and services designed for the specific needs of different kinds of travellers. Indeed as the periodical press became more variegated during the second half of the nineteenth century so too did attempts to distinguish between different types of tourists.⁵¹

As the volume of literature published grew so too did the number of people that travelled for leisure, in a self-perpetuating cycle.⁵² However, the growth of accounts of leisurely travels in which authors attempted to establish their travels as different (and therefore superior) to those that had been published hitherto soon attracted criticism. Reviews regularly poured scorn on those who were conceited enough to judge their trifling travels worthy of publication, yet of course, the very

⁴⁸ J. Buzard, 'A continent of pictures: reflections on the "Europe" of nineteenth-century tourists,' *PMLA* 108 (1993), 31.

⁴⁹ Buzard, 'A continent of pictures', 31.

⁵⁰ D. Gregory, 'Scripting Egypt: Orientalism and cultures of travel' in J. Duncan and D. Gregory (eds.), *Writes of Passage Reading Travel Writing* (London: Routledge, 1999), 114-150.

⁵¹ J. Steward, "'How and where to go.' The role of travel journalism in Britain and the evolution of foreign tourism, 1840-1914' in J.K. Walton (ed.) *Histories of Tourism: Representation, Identity and Conflict*, (Clevedon: Channel View Publications, 2005), 40.

⁵² J. Buzard, *The Beaten Track: European Tourism, Literature, and the ways to 'culture' 1800-1918* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1993), 160.

fact that they were being reviewed at all helped to promote them. Although literary scholars have considered the role of these texts in shaping particular geographical imaginations, adopting a 'book history' approach to this vast body of literature (which is characterised less by a distinctive form or genre and more by a shared purpose) allows us to problematize the notion of authorship and reception as is being done elsewhere for expeditionary travel writing. As well as providing concrete examples of how authors, editors and publishers prepared such volumes for publication by focusing on the pre-publication lives of a set of texts, as Chapter 3 demonstrates, it also allows us to make connections between other publishing formats and contexts as well as offering more nuanced accounts of reception. Moreover, as this thesis will demonstrate we should not assume a rigid distinction between touristic or literary travel writing and the forms that expeditionary travel inspired. While the RGS may not have publically endorsed literary travel or the accounts it produced, several of its own Fellows undertook and published accounts of both expeditionary and touristic travel (as discussed in Chapters 4 and 5).

This discussion of geographical publishing began with the Royal Geographical Society, highlighting how print and publication were enshrined within the remit of the Society from the outset. It then introduced the wider marketplace for geographical works (a discussion which included periodicals, instruction manuals, expeditionary narratives, maps and atlases but which could easily be extended further if space allowed, considering a variety of other genres which contributed to geographical knowledge in the period including missionary writing, technical reports and children's literature, for example) and highlighted the importance of travel and exploration in inspiring a wide range of different forms of geographical writing at this time. By considering specific institutional and commercial forms of geographical publishing, this section has drawn attention to the relationship between different publishing contexts. Rather than offer an institutional history of geographical publishing focused upon the RGS, this thesis moves in and out of this particular institutional context, examining the connections between it and different forms of commercial and popular geographical publishing.

Temporal Focus

This thesis is concerned primarily with the middle decades of the Victorian period: the four publishing projects which provide its focus span the years 1855-1878. This period is of significant interest in the context of geographical publishing as several developments coincide which allow print to become central to the way that claims to geographical knowledge were constructed, circulated and contested not simply in relation to the 'discovery', exploration, and mapping of hitherto 'unknown' places but also with regards to the more leisurely and mundane forms of travel which were undertaken by the expanding and increasingly mobile middle-classes. In both cases, travel and travel writing served to fuel one another, with print increasingly seen as a means of legitimating travel but also serving to inspire and facilitate future travels.

Print was able to obtain such a central place because a series of transformations combined to create the conditions necessary for both the widespread production and consumption of printed materials. Technological advances such as the development of printing factories, the adoption of high-speed presses, telegraph lines, and the expansive railway network (covering 2,000 miles in 1844 and 7,500 miles in 1852⁵³) improved the means of production and distribution while the mid-Victorian commitment to 'self-improvement' created a demand which would first match and then out-strip the current technological capabilities. Literacy rates increased while social reformers fought for the repeal of the so-called taxes on knowledge which, they argued, served to bar the working classes from improving literature. As Hampton explains, mid-Victorian reformers believed in the educational capacity of the press, arguing either that the press could act as a force for good by encouraging free discussion which would lead to the acceptance of 'the common good' or that it could be used as a more persuasive device to convince the working classes of what that 'common good' was'.⁵⁴ The removal of several barriers, beginning with the repeal of pamphlet duty in 1833, followed by the window tax in 1851, advertisement duty in 1853, newspaper tax in 1855 and finally paper duty in 1861, coupled with improvements in living standards and wages ensured though that wide-scale leisurely reading was a genuine prospect by the mid-Victorian period.

⁵³ J. Secord, *Victorian Sensation: The Extraordinary Publication, Reception, and Secret Authorship of Vestiges of the Natural History of Creation* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2000), 26.

⁵⁴ M. Hampton, 'Understanding media: theories of the press in Britain, 1850-1915', *Media, Culture, Society* 23 (2001), 215-217.

This resulted in a marked increase in both the scale and scope of works published as publishers targeted increasingly specific readerships. As Davis remarks, ‘between 1840 and 1870, whilst the British population rose by 40 per cent, the number of books published annually rose by 400 per cent.’⁵⁵ Periodical publishing also grew at an astonishing rate in response to the growing market with John North estimating that some 125,000 new periodicals were published during the course of the nineteenth century.⁵⁶ However, whilst literary scholars have long since explored the implications of these developments for publishers, authors and readers of fictional works, and historians of science have made notable inroads for their own field, as yet we know little about the nature of geographical publishing in these mid-Victorian decades or how the widespread interest in travel and travel literature was fuelled by or indeed helped to fuel the expansion of the publishing industry at this time. This thesis springs from the recognition that the middle decades of the Victorian period were characterised by significant changes in patterns of production, dissemination and consumption and seeks to understand how publishers and the wider publishing industry attempted to shape geographical understandings in this period, a period which was also marked by an expansion in middle class travel facilitated by the railway network, improving living standards and wages and a desire for ‘self-improvement’.

2.2 Methodology: Case Studies of Travel and Exploration Publishing

The subject of travel and exploration publishing can be approached from a variety of methodological vantage points. In what follows, I consider various methods for the analysis and interpretation of the processes of production, circulation and reception which lie at the heart of the framework outlined in the previous chapter, focussing in particular on bibliometric book history, institution-focussed publishing histories, studies of reading and authorship and the individual book as an exemplar.

⁵⁵ P. Davis, *The Oxford English Literary History. Volume 8: The Victorians* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2002), 203.

⁵⁶ J. North, *Waterloo Directory of English Newspapers and Periodicals, 1800–1900* (Ontario: North Waterloo Academic Press, 1994).

Bibliometrics

Bibliometrics or quantitative book history focuses upon identifying patterns, trends and relationships which can yield significant insights into the historical production, circulation and consumption of printed goods. Production and distribution costs, print runs, advertising budgets, authors' payments, sales figures, and so on, can all be quantified where sources allow and can be used to confirm or contradict existing assumptions about particular aspects of the publishing industry and/or establish hitherto unexpected patterns, trends and relationships.⁵⁷ The research Simon Eliot presents in *Some Patterns and Trends in British Publishing 1800-1919* for instance, has allowed scholars to speak much more precisely about the rise in output. Eliot's analysis suggests that production did not rise steadily over time but rather 'experienced surges in the 1840s and early 1850s, a loss of momentum in the late 1850s, 1860s and early 1870s, and acceleration again from the late 1870s to 1913'.⁵⁸ This clearly encourages us to consider why this pattern emerges and to how individual publishers, authors and titles both contributed to and were influenced by these fluctuations. This work also produces significant insights into subject publishing, pricing structures and periodical publication. Quantitative studies can also reveal much about the business strategies deployed by individual publishing houses as Eliot's work on Macmillan demonstrates.⁵⁹

However, there are clear limits to the kinds of insights that quantification can yield. Indeed Eliot himself has argued that statistical studies must be combined with detailed case studies which capture 'the texture and taste of bookmaking humanity'.⁶⁰ The explanatory power of quantitative analyses largely depends upon the nature of available data. Some datasets might be too unwieldy to deal with in their entirety necessitating a sampling strategy while others might be very small

⁵⁷ A. Weedon, 'The uses of quantification' in S. Eliot and J. Rose (eds.), *A Companion to the History of the Book* (Oxford: Blackwell Publishing Ltd, 2009), 33, 33-49; Howsam, *Kegan Paul: A Victorian Imprint*, 9-10.

⁵⁸ S. Eliot, *Some Patterns and Trends in British Publishing, 1800-1919*, (London: Bibliographical Society, 1998), 106.

⁵⁹ S. Eliot, '"To you in your vast business": Some features of the quantitative history of Macmillan 1843-1891' in E. James (ed.), *Macmillan: A Publishing Tradition* (Basingstoke : Palgrave, 2002), 11-51.

⁶⁰ S. Eliot, 'Very necessary but not quite sufficient: A personal view of quantitative analysis in book history', *Book History* 5 (2003), 284

and/or incomplete, unclear or unreliable.⁶¹ It is therefore important to consider how and why bias may have been introduced into calculations and it is for these reasons that Joshi contends that 'Like all data, statistics ought to be regarded as approximations at best, only as good as the tools to retrieve and manipulate them, and therefore only provisional until different or better statistics – or different or better methods of historical inquiry – emerge'.⁶²

As yet, we know relatively little about the quantitative history of geographical publishing in mid-Victorian Britain. Eliot's study of the British publishing industry in the period 1800-1919 offers some limited insights. Analyzing the content of *Bibliotheca Londinensis* between 1814 and 1846 he remarks of the subject distribution of titles, 'Surprisingly close behind "Religion" comes "Geography, Travel, History and Biography" at 17.3%'. He goes on to explain that 'This catch-all category cannot be broken down much further but, roughly speaking, Geography, History, Voyages and Travels seem to have taken up about three-quarters of this category and Biography and correspondence the other quarter'.⁶³ Eliot's material in this study did not provide insights into subject classification for the period 1846-1869 and it was necessary to use *Publishers' Circular* for the years 1870-79 which makes comparison problematic. However, in the latter data set, Eliot reports that 'Geography, Travel, History and Biography' moved into third place behind 'Juvenile Fiction' and 'Religion', now occupying a 12.4% share of titles published.⁶⁴ These figures are a useful starting point when considering the relative popularity of different subjects. However, as Eliot himself notes, the classification systems used in these and other publications are not necessarily directly comparable. Moreover, it is problematic to work with figures such as those provided by Eliot when we are not provided with a clear explanation as to how categories and sub-categories have been defined – what distinguished 'travel' from 'geography' for instance, and should we categorise atlases and schoolbooks as 'educational' or 'geographical'? These are the kinds of questions that we need to bear in mind when devising categories for analysis or using pre-defined data sets. Quantitative analysis, then, should be seen as provisional and partial although it clearly poses significant

⁶¹ A. Weedon, 'The uses of quantification', 39.

⁶² P. Joshi, 'Quantitative method, literary history', *Book History* 5 (2002), 273.

⁶³ S. Eliot, *Some Patterns and Trends in British Publishing*, 44.

⁶⁴ S. Eliot, *Some Patterns and Trends in British Publishing*, 44-45.

analytical potential especially in relation to fluctuations over time and increasingly space too, through GIS applications.⁶⁵ Overall, it remains clear that explaining the underlying drivers for observed changes in the historical geography of the book will require both quantitative and qualitative approaches.

Institutional Histories

The publishing house history has long been and remains a common approach to publishing history. However, many such histories are commissioned by the firms in question themselves with the aim of commemorating anniversaries and ultimately they are, in Sutherland's words, 'mercenary, uncritical, and self-serving'.⁶⁶ In these cases, publishing house histories are expected to share the vision of the firm's management, reinforcing accepted narratives of triumph and innovation, 'list[ing] the house's famous writers and splendid books so that future readers would appreciate the firm's contribution to literature'.⁶⁷ Such studies which by their nature tend to focus upon long-established, highly successful firms, often lack archival grounding, building instead on the recollections of former employees.

However, publishing house history at its best provides a route to re-examining the successes (and failures) of firms asking why and how decisions were made by specific individuals with reference to the wider historical and geographical contexts of which these firms were part. Howsam's study of Kegan Paul, for example, demonstrates the value of an approach which combines both bibliography and biography, investigating what she calls the 'duality of imprint: the publisher's imprint upon a list of books: and publishers' personalities, the imprint of their taste and judgment on the culture in which they lived'.⁶⁸ This approach allows her to offer a broader analysis of the way that the Kegan Paul imprint built its reputation, linking a database of the works recorded in the firm's archives to a biographical study of the

⁶⁵ F.A. Black, B.H. MacDonald and J.M.W. Black, 'Geographic information systems: a new research method for book history,' *Book History* 1 (1998), 11–31; B.H. MacDonald and F.A. Black, 'Using GIS for spatial and temporal analyses in print culture studies: some opportunities and challenges', *Social Science History* 24 (2000), 505–536.

⁶⁶ J. Sutherland, 'Publishing history: a hole at the centre of literary sociology', *Critical Inquiry*, 14 (1988), 589.

⁶⁷ G. Tuchman and N.E. Fortin, *Edging Women Out: Victorian Novelists, Publishers and Social Change* (London: Routledge, 1989), 24.

⁶⁸ Howsam, *Kegan Paul: A Victorian Imprint*, 3.

key decision-makers. It is worth noting, however, that Howsam's coverage of the firms which made up this imprint is somewhat uneven, with publisher Nicholas Trübner in particular receiving only limited attention. This is not a critique of this scholarship but rather a comment about the extent to which such studies reflect the available archival source materials. While published records and titles themselves can tell us much, they can only go so far.

As Howsam's work shows, where archival records are available, publishing house history can open up avenues of research beyond questions of production. As publishers' livelihoods depended on their ability to predict the market, she suggests that the decisions they made tell us much about the demands of contemporary readers.⁶⁹ From this perspective though, the focus naturally falls on *what* was read (or at least what was printed) rather than *how* particular works were read. As discussed below, research in publishers' archives may provide useful insights into both actual and intended readership but these sources often come up short when it comes to understanding the nature of the reading experience and the responses it elicited from particular individuals or groups of readers.

Alternatively, publishing history might be approached from the vantage point of scientific or governmental institutions which played important roles within particular parts of the market for books and periodicals. In the case of geographical publishing in Victorian Britain, for instance, it would be possible to consider the relationship between the Royal Geographical Society and the wider publishing industry by examining the texts which the Society commissioned, promoted and loaned as well as those it endorsed or criticised, both in public and private. Providing an analysis of the publishing activities of an institution like the RGS would rely upon many of the same sources used to investigate the histories of publishing houses, augmented by the Society's own records – in this case, correspondence, journal manuscripts, referee reports, council and committee minute books. Considering the variety of publishing projects that the Society became involved in over the course of a defined period would improve understandings of the nature of the associations between knowledge-promoting bodies like the RGS and commercial publishers. It would also highlight the connections and contradictions between officially sanctioned narratives and so-called popular publishing.

⁶⁹ Howsam, *Kegan Paul: A Victorian Imprint*, 14.

However, there is a danger that an institution-centred approach would fail to capture the degree to which the purpose and content of particular publishing ventures were subject to discussion and debate within the Society. Moreover, as noted above, the vision of geography that the Society promoted needs to be seen in a wider context, alongside the interests and perspectives of commercial publishers, other societies, government bodies and the wider reading public. If the Society is the starting point for analysis of production, replication and circulation, there is a danger that those texts and formats that did not travel through the Society in some form or another, however important or influential they might have been among other reading groups, are excluded from the narrative. Although this thesis concentrates on literature associated with travel and exploration, it is important to recognise that many widely-read geographical works were not produced by or for self-identified geographers. Publishers of children's books, textbooks, missionary narratives, maps and atlases, and more technical works produced for the purposes of maritime and terrestrial survey, all deserve consideration as producers and disseminators of geographical knowledge in their own right.

Reading and Reception

The study of readership, reading and reception has attracted a great deal of scholarship in both literary history and the history of science. Works such as Altick's *The English Common Reader* have considered broader patterns of reading, providing important insights into what was read during the nineteenth-century.⁷⁰ However, as discussed in Chapter 1, more recently attention has turned from what people read towards how they read, both in terms of particular practices of reading and in terms of locating specific responses to named texts (and increasingly, by named readers).⁷¹

Despite repeated calls to identify 'real readers' rather than simply 'imagined', 'ideal' or 'intended' ones, it remains the case that detailed empirical studies of these so-called 'real readers' are still relatively few in number. The main barrier remains the nature of reading itself and the kinds of traces it leaves behind. As Keighren's recent study of Ellen Semple's *Influences of Geographical Environment* highlights,

⁷⁰ R.D. Altick, *The English Common Reader*, (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1957).

⁷¹ See 'Section 6: Individual Readers' in S. Towheed, R. Crone and K. Halsey (eds.), *The History of Reading* (London: Routledge, 2010) for example.

while some works undoubtedly do inspire plentiful musings in letters, diaries and margins, many more do not.⁷² Indeed Howsam argues that

Reading is such a private act, the connection between reader and author so evanescent and intimate, that a satisfactory history of readership may never be possible. A preferable way of making connection is to focus on the publishers, the men and women who had it in their power to accept manuscripts, transform them into books, and offer them to the marketplace.⁷³

The extent to which a lack of evidence of individual reading experiences hinders attempts to reconstruct responses to specific titles will continue to be debated for some time. However, what is more important here is Howsam's suggestion that the concerns of studies of publishing houses naturally extend into questions about audience. It is an important point to make because while some might complain that viewing readers as an extension of publishing history underestimates the importance of reading, histories of readership which fail to consider the extent to which decisions made in the publishing house (by publishers, editors and authors) come to bear upon readership are surely just as problematic.

Authors and Authorship

As demonstrated by many literary studies, questions of production, replication and reception can also be addressed by focusing upon an author's publishing career, including relationships with publishers and other technicians of print. This approach potentially encompasses a wide range of genres, formats, publishers and target audiences, depending on the specific contours of the career in question. Rather than celebrating the individual genius of that author or assuming that their readers interpreted their texts in predictable ways, this approach would need to acknowledge the collaborative nature of publishing, considering how different author-publisher relations contributed to success or failure at given moments within the longer publishing trajectories of both the author and the publishing house in question. Considering how a set of works was replicated and received in print also provides scope for further analysis in relation to the specific nature of a particular work,

⁷² I.M. Keighren, *Bringing Geography to Book: Ellen Semple and the Reception of Geographical Knowledge* (London and New York: I.B. Tauris, 2010).

⁷³ Howsam, *Kegan Paul: A Victorian Imprint*, 12.

market conditions, author-publisher relations, intended audience and so on. However, as Haynes warns, author-centred studies can unintentionally reproduce the notion that great authors are overwhelmingly responsible for the creation of great texts.⁷⁴ In the Victorian context, studies have tended to focus on the most celebrated novelists and dramatists, perpetuating the perceived importance of certain canonical authors. However, historians of science have also shown through studies of Victorian popularisers of science in particular, that studying groups of authors, including less well-known figures, can effectively challenge received wisdoms.⁷⁵ Author-centred studies, then, can potentially shed much light on the relationship between particular individuals and the wider apparatus of the publishing industry. However, they can also result in biographies which overestimate the importance of authorial intentions both within and beyond the publishing house, resulting in publishers and authors being viewed implicitly or explicitly as corrupting influences rather than integral cogs within the publishing machine.

Exemplary Books

Although Howsam notes that 'It is perhaps surprising how seldom the history of the book takes the form of the history of a book', the challenges faced by those studies which do follow this approach to the individual book as exemplar go some way to explaining why this is the case.⁷⁶ *Victorian Sensation* has already been discussed at length in Chapter 1 but it is worth reiterating that in order to reconstruct the publication, replication and reception of *Vestiges*, Secord had to pick apart a vast number of archival and published sources, situating each within their respective historical and geographical contexts. Such sources are rarely found within easy reach (despite the proliferation of electronic resources), if at all. Indeed, as with those studies which focus primarily upon reading, Secord's work (with its desire to put readers on an equal footing with publishers, editors and authors) hinges to a large extent on being able to locate substantive evidence of reading and reception.

⁷⁴ C. Haynes, 'Re-assessing "genius" in studies of authorship: the state of the discipline', *Book History*, 8 (2005), 288-291.

⁷⁵ B. Lightman, *Victorian Popularizers of Science: Designing Nature for New Audiences* (Chicago: Chicago University Press, 2007); B. Lightman (ed.), *Victorian Science in Context* (Chicago: Chicago University Press, 1997).

⁷⁶ Howsam, *Kegan Paul: A Victorian Imprint*, 8.

Although Secord admits that ‘Most readings leave little or no trace – an ownership signature or a few pencil marks’ he remains convinced that scholars may actually be overwhelmed by an abundance of material rather than a lack of it: ‘the first half of the nineteenth-century, when gossip personal letters and private diaries coexisted with steam printed books and cheap magazines posted by rail, is probably richer in sources for the history of reading than any other period’.⁷⁷ However, it remains to be seen whether similar sources can be located both for other titles and other periods. Secord has noted that ‘the handful of scientific books that became sensations have left more identifiable traces than comparable works of fiction, history and poetry’: so the challenge is ‘not to find detailed records of reading, it is locating them for a specified title’.⁷⁸ Many publishers built their businesses up not on repeated sensations but rather steady, modest sales of genres such as educational textbooks or tourist guidebooks. While there is undoubtedly an argument to be made these kinds of works also deserve attention, it remains open to question whether they are capable of supporting the same kind of extensive analysis as their more sensational counterparts.

Thesis Methodology

The overarching aim of this thesis is to consider the role of publishers and the wider publishing industry in shaping geographical understandings associated with travel and exploration. The methodology underlying the case studies presented in this thesis effectively combines aspects of several of the approaches whose merits and limitations are discussed above. Building in particular upon studies of individual titles, the remaining chapters focus upon four mid-Victorian travel and exploration publishing projects. While considering wider questions relating to production, dissemination and consumption, they pay particular attention to the way that publishers acted as intermediaries at various points in the publishing process, including the point of consumption. Rather than focusing upon a single publisher, author, format or genre, this approach allows for a wider consideration of the ways in which print was implicated in constructing, communicating and contesting claims to

⁷⁷ J. Secord, *Victorian Sensation: The Extraordinary Publication, Reception and Secret Authorship of Vestiges of the Natural History of Creation* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2000), 336, 4.

⁷⁸ J. Secord, *Victorian Sensation*, 336.

knowledge. Although these studies are not presented as statistically representative of mid-Victorian geographical publishing as a whole (a quantitative study of broader patterns and trends within this field of publishing has yet to be undertaken), they nevertheless provide an opportunity to consider points of comparison and contrast, opening up further avenues for research in the process. There is of course a trade-off to be made between breadth and depth and undoubtedly this study could have gone further in its analysis of each of the individual cases (a fact which the conclusion will reflect upon). However, by extending the history of an exemplary book to different formats, genres and publishing contexts, this thesis seeks to make a significant contribution in methodological as well as substantive terms.

2.3 Case Studies: Selection and Rationale

The previous section weighed the advantages and disadvantages of a number of different approaches to book historical research and concluded by suggesting that the aim of this thesis would be best served by an approach which centred upon a series of case studies of exemplary publishing ventures. This section gives further weight to that claim, offering justification for the use of case studies in general and for the use of these four case studies in particular by explaining the selection process before going on to discuss the role of each case within the thesis.

The decision to use case studies as a route into the wider field of travel and exploration publishing was arrived at following a review of literature concerning publishers, authors, texts and genres lying broadly within the contours of geographical publishing. This review became the basis for the compilation of a spreadsheet designed to identify themes, genres, texts and individuals warranting further research. This spreadsheet confirmed that in order to understand the role of publishers and the wider publishing industry in shaping geographical understandings in this period – the central aim of the thesis – it would be necessary to undertake more focused research into a limited number of examples. However, the selection of particular case studies would have significant implications for the kinds of questions that this thesis could ask. It would have been possible, for example, to confine the focus of the thesis to a single publishing house, author, genre, price bracket or format, enabling intensive study of the development of one particular strand of publishing. However, such a structure would have had its own limitations. Adopting a narrower focus on works of common format or for a single reading community

would have placed limits on the attempt to consider how different audiences engage with a particular text or to explore the wide variety of printed forms which a single work could occupy. In a study of a single genre there would also have been less scope to follow the linkages between different publishing projects and to consider cases where genres intersected, such as in the case of Galton's writings on *The Art of Travel*, *The Art of Campaigning*, and *The Handbook to Switzerland*. The desire to consider such intersections was a determining factor in selecting a range of case studies which were sufficiently distinct but nonetheless shared sufficient commonalities (an author or a publisher, for example) to allow for comparison.

The four case studies which form the focus of the remaining chapters were selected in order to provide different routes into the broader field of mid-Victorian travel and exploration publishing. Each of them offers an opportunity to address issues specific to the particular case study in question, while also enabling links to be made across different publishing contexts, formats and genres. This is an important point in itself, especially as regards publishing formats which have often defined, and limited, the significance of previous studies. As Fyfe remarks, 'Although there are exceptions, book history and periodical history are all too often pursued separately, and this has increased the perceived differences between books and periodicals'.⁷⁹ For this reason, the selected case studies are situated at various points along the book-periodical continuum, examining in turn a single-volume expeditionary narrative; a travellers' instruction manual; a multi-authored book series; and finally a magazine. The analysis of the production, circulation and reception of these texts emphasises the importance of publishers as intermediaries and of publishing more widely as a means of constructing, communicating and contesting claims to geographical knowledge.

However, it was still necessary to delimit the field of possible case studies. The aforementioned spreadsheet was suggestive of several possibilities, not least because it also served to highlight the potential of relevant archival collections, providing a starting point for thinking about which cases were both significant and achievable from a more practical perspective. On the basis of my scoping of the

⁷⁹ A. Fyfe, 'Periodicals and book series: complementary aspects of a publisher's mission' in L. Henson et al (eds.), *Culture and Science in the Nineteenth-Century Media* (Aldershot: Ashgate Publishing Ltd, 2004), 73.

field, and in light of the research questions outlined in Chapter 1 (section 1.4), I thus identified four publishing projects - a single travel narrative, a manual, a series and popular periodical - which warranted further investigation. In three of these four cases, visits to the relevant libraries and depositories confirmed that there would be sufficient material, published and unpublished, to extend existing understandings of geographical publishing in this period. However, one of the provisionally selected case studies - the periodical *Illustrated Travels*, edited by Henry Walter Bates, Secretary of the Royal Geographical Society - proved more troublesome in archival terms. In principle, this presented an opportunity to explore the connections between the Society and more commercial attempts to popularise geography, while the illustrated nature of the periodical added a further dimension. However, early attempts to find relevant publisher's records drew a blank and this gave rise to concerns about the viability of the case study given my objectives. For this reason, I then began to explore potential alternatives in the field of periodical publishing, including the *Geographical Magazine*. This case was similar to *Illustrated Travels* in so far as it was edited by an influential figure within the RGS and so therefore continued to present an opportunity to question the supposed divide between so-called 'popular' and 'professional' publishing. As discussed below, locating archival material still proved to be problematic but material within the RGS archives suggested that it was a more viable case study than *Illustrated Travels*.

Returning to the case studies which were selected, the most celebrated of all mid-Victorian exploration texts was David Livingstone's *Missionary Travels and Researches in South Africa*, the focus of Chapter 3.⁸⁰ First published in 1857 by John Murray, this work achieved notable commercial success and unsurprisingly it looms large in the extensive biographical literature on its author. Its contents, style and structure have been repeatedly mined by scholars seeking to recover Livingstone's intentions in order to support competing characterizations of the author as missionary, medic and man of empire, for instance.⁸¹ Exceptions to this biographical approach are to be found in more recent studies, for example in the work of Barringer and Koivunen who have considered the multi-authored nature of the

⁸⁰ D. Livingstone, *Missionary Travels and Researches in South Africa* (London: John Murray, 1857).

⁸¹ T. Jeal, *Livingstone* (Pimlico: London, 1973); A.C. Ross, *David Livingstone: Mission and Empire* (London: Hambledon and London, 2002).

illustrations within the 1857 edition of *Missionary Travels*.⁸² However, there remains much more to be said about the text, the collaborative nature of its production and the paratextual devices which constituted both this and subsequent editions.

Turning to matters of reception and replication, the remarkable commercial success of *Missionary Travels* prompts a set of further questions concerning competition and copyright, as rival publishers and authors sought to capitalise on the hunger for news of Livingstone's travels. Similarly, because there was a market for his narrative beyond Britain, this case also prompts a consideration of the international circulation of travel narratives, a theme which has gone almost entirely unremarked until now. It has already been suggested that widely-read texts are the most likely to leave behind accessible evidence of reading and this chapter does indeed explore the reception of this work, both within and beyond Britain, primarily through the medium of reviews. The fact that *Missionary Travels* was so widely reviewed (and that these reviews are increasingly accessible today) means that it is possible to consider how specific reviewers received this work in ways consistent with their own political, religious, social and geographical positioning.

The house of John Murray is today probably the best-known of all the Victorian publishers in the field of travel and exploration, not least because it sought to publish works that in some ways set the standard not just for travel publishing but for the manner of travel itself. Chapter 4 considers another Murray publication, Francis Galton's guide for explorers, *The Art of Travel or, Shifts and Contrivances Available in Wild Countries*, first published in 1855.⁸³ Unlike expeditionary narratives which were designed to report details of completed journeys made by individual authors, instruction manuals were much more open-ended and in principle more collaborative productions. They both shaped and were shaped by multiple journeys, with their authors incorporating newly gathered insights into the practicalities of travel into the first and subsequent editions. Success in these instances, then, was measured not by immediate impact but rather by sustained sales over a much longer period. Works like *The Art of Travel* (which was revised and

⁸² On the preparation of the visual material within the 1857 edition of *Missionary Travels* see L. Koivunen, *Visualizing Africa* and T. Barringer, 'Fabricating Africa'.

⁸³ F. Galton, *The Art of Travel or, Shifts and Contrivances Available in Wild Countries* (London: John Murray, 1855).

reissued eight times between 1855 and 1872) therefore provide a route into considering the importance not only of book history but also *edition* history.

Furthermore, instructional guides raise important questions about the nature of authorship. In the case of expeditionary narratives, it was first-hand experience that differentiated the traveller-turned-author from others and rendered them alone qualified to re-tell their story in print. But not all forms of publishing in the field of travel and exploration carried the same expectations. Francis Galton's investment in a number of publishing ventures, designed for different audiences, make *The Art of Travel* an especially enlightening case. Examining some of the author's wider publishing activities raises questions about the extent to which particular editions of *The Art of Travel* were marked by his involvement in both commercial and RGS-sanctioned projects. These considerations also bring the multiple audiences for such a work into view. *The Art of Travel* provides ample opportunity to consider how material originally published within Galton's manual was revised and repackaged with different audiences in mind. This case also reminds us that published texts could also inspire non-textual outputs. Extending the book historical approach beyond print highlights how knowledge moves not only through a range of print spaces but also from print into spaces of speech and display.

Another of Galton's projects was the series *Vacation Tourists and Notes of Travel*, published in three volumes by Macmillan and Co. between 1861 and 1864, and this provides the focus of Chapter 5.⁸⁴ Each volume consisted of a set of essays from different authors offering new accounts of travel from around the globe. This project provides an opportunity to further explore the collaborative nature of authorship and more specifically, to consider the significance of the serial format for Galton and his publisher at this particular point in time. This case encourages us to consider why the serial format was chosen and to consider the challenges and opportunities it presented in this particular context. These are important questions because as both Howsam and Fyfe have recently argued, book series have received much less attention than the three-decker and part publication of novels and it is

⁸⁴ F. Galton (ed.), *Vacation Tourists and Notes of Travel in 1860 [1861 and 1862-3]* (Cambridge: Macmillan and Co., 1861, 1862 and 1864).

unclear how the form related to genres other than fiction.⁸⁵ This chapter considers how the format both enabled and constrained both publisher and editor in their desire to communicate accounts of travel in a specific way.

The mode of production of the book series also highlights the collaborative nature of authorship and the often fraught relationship between editor, publisher and contributors. From the title and remit of the series to the contents of individual essays, published volumes were at every point the outcome of a set of negotiations and compromises. By considering the way that the series was reviewed, we can also glean insights into the specific modes of reading associated with book series. *Vacation Tourists* was variously understood as a set of distinct essays, a collection of volumes and as a linear series. In attempting to consider how this publication was produced, replicated and received, Chapter 5 also highlights the challenges associated with applying a methodological approach originally developed for a single-authored title to a multi-authored, edited venture such as this.

Further along the book-periodical spectrum lie the quarterly, monthly and weekly serials which for many literary historians constitute the heart of the Victorian publishing world. As Chapter 1 noted, recent work by historians of science has also demonstrated the importance of the periodical format to the production and circulation of scientific ideas. Indeed as Dawson and Topham remark,

The periodical press ... was without doubt the primary means of cultural circulation in the nineteenth century, and, in most cases, had a greater impact, and reached far larger and more diverse reading audiences, than books.⁸⁶

Yet we still know relatively little about the production, circulation and reception of geographical knowledge through periodical publications, whether institutionally-sanctioned or more avowedly commercial ventures. Cavell's recent study of the connections between nineteenth-century Arctic narratives and the periodical press not only confirms the close relationship between these forms of publishing but also prompts us to consider the periodical as an object of study in its own right, not as a

⁸⁵ L. Howsam, 'Sustained literary ventures. The series in Victorian book publishing', *Publishing History* 31 (1992), 5; Fyfe, 'Periodicals and book series', 72-73.

⁸⁶ G. Dawson and J. R. Topham, 'Science in the nineteenth-century periodical', *Literature Compass* 1 (2004), 1.

sourcebook of facts awaiting recovery.⁸⁷ A publication such as the *Geographical Magazine*, which provides the focus of Chapter 6, also presents an opportunity to consider how fluid the boundary could be between so-called ‘professional’ and ‘popular’ periodical publishing projects. Due to the close association between the magazine and the Royal Geographical Society, this case illuminates a range of attitudes towards the popular periodical press at this time. Considering how the venture evolved from its early days (under the title *Our Ocean Highways*) as a supplement to the publication which eventually became the blueprint for the Society’s own *Proceedings*, reveals how the vision behind the magazine changed over time as it moved through the hands of various publishers, proprietors and editors. It also raises wider questions about the intended and actual readership of the periodical.

2.4 Sources: Reconstructing Publishing Histories

The ability to reconstruct the history of any publishing project is determined to a large extent by the availability of source materials as well as the nature of the publication itself. The final section of this chapter introduces the main archival, published and electronic resources that have been utilised in the preparation of this thesis, organised under the headings of production, replication and reception which provide the overall interpretative framework. In so doing, it sheds light on the specific ways in which these aspects of publishing history are approached in each substantive case study. Additionally, this discussion reminds us that the same historical sources can often illuminate several parts of the publication chain simultaneously, suggesting that it is difficult in practice to maintain a neat separation between questions relating to production, dissemination and consumption.

Production

Publishers’ Archives

Publishers’ archives can present rich insights into the pre-publication lives of texts and their various material forms. While their precise arrangement may differ from firm to firm, publishers’ records share a common purpose: to record facts, figures

⁸⁷ Cavell, *Tracing the Connected Narrative*.

and other materials relevant to the everyday functioning of the business including profit and loss accounts, legal agreements and authors' correspondence and manuscripts.⁸⁸ As such they can provide a wealth of information about the economics of publishing but also about the collaborative nature of this industry, one of the central concerns of this thesis.

Chapters 3 and 4 draw heavily upon one of the most extensive publishing archives in Britain, that of the house of John Murray (now held in the National Library of Scotland). Consisting of over 250,000 items arranged in eight series including business and legal correspondence, incoming correspondence, outgoing correspondence and author-publisher correspondence, the John Murray Archive (JMA) spans the period 1768 to 1920.⁸⁹ The business and legal papers subset of the archive includes materials such as copies ledgers, customer ledgers, sales catalogues, copyright registration forms, and estimate books all of which provide a sense of the day-to-day demands associated with running a modern publishing house. Ledgers, for instance, can provide information regarding individual print runs, detailing the work and costs associated with particular editions in detail. Not only do they offer an insight into the labour involved in putting a work into print but they also reveal the identities and specific roles of the many individuals who helped to shape such works before they left the publishing house as well of course as revealing the monetary value placed upon their involvement. (The entry for *The Art of Travel* in Copies Ledger E which is shown in Figure 2.1 provides an insight into the kinds of information found within such sources.) Account books contain running records of payments made to authors providing an insight into both the initial contractual conditions under which publication took place and the ongoing fortunes of a volume over a longer time period. Estimate books reveal the initial expectations of the publisher in terms of the material form that a work would take and the costs associated with that production (Figure 2.2 shows Murray's estimates for *The Art of Travel* and *Missionary Travels*).

⁸⁸ A. Weedon, 'The uses of quantification', 33.

⁸⁹ National Library of Scotland, 'UK Memory of the World status for Murray Archive', Press Release, 26 May 2011, (Accessed 01/06/2011); National Library of Scotland, John Murray Archive, Online Catalogue, (Accessed 01/06/2011)

The value of the material within these business papers is multiplied when viewed alongside the correspondence files which reveal something of the nature of author-publisher relations. Often it is the correspondence that helps to explain *why* the decisions evident in the business papers have been taken. For instance, the correspondence can reveal insights as to why a published work differs in significant aspects to that detailed in an estimate book. Similarly, correspondence can provide additional explanation as to how an author came to be associated with the firm or the process under which a manuscript was compiled and revised.

The JMA was the primary source of information regarding the pre-publication life of *Missionary Travels*. Ledgers, accounts and estimate books reveal the extent and nature of the initial financial investment Murray was willing to make in this instance, highlighting the cost of materials and labour while also allowing us to attribute particular aspects of the finished product to specific individuals whose involvement remains unacknowledged in print. Combining quantitative sources with letters and manuscript proofs enhances our understanding of the production process further. To give one example (illustrated by Figure 2.3), both letters from Livingstone and manuscript proofs within the JMA provide insights into how the dedication for *Missionary Travels* was shaped by multiple hands. Yet the JMA also prompts a series of questions that go well beyond the archive itself. For instance, the ledgers and correspondence pointed to markets for *Missionary Travels* beyond Britain but failed to reveal anything of the nature of the arrangements between Murray, Livingstone and various publishers overseas. Investigation into the American edition led to further research in the archives of Harper and Brothers, microfilmed at the British Library. However, this material served mainly to confirm the conditions under which the plates were obtained from Murray and offered no further insights into print runs, etc, reminding us of the uneven nature of archival coverage.

The JMA also provides significant insights into the pre-publication life of *The Art of Travel*. Again the various ledgers and account books are important sources along with the estimate books. Together these materials make it possible to reconstruct something of the multi-edition history of Galton's manual, revealing the size of print runs, the costs of illustrating, printing and binding volumes and so on. However, the JMA contains relatively little correspondence relating to *The Art of Travel* nor manuscript proofs, so that while it is possible to reconstruct part of the

production process from the ledgers and accounts, it is more difficult to understand the nature of the author-publisher relationship for this case on the basis of these sources alone. Even within a publishers' archive as extensive as the JMA coverage can be uneven.

The archives of Macmillan and Co., central to the study of *Vacation Tourists* presented in Chapter 5, are divided between Reading University and the British Library. The collection at the British Library covers both nineteenth and twentieth centuries and occupies 1,250 volumes. It includes business and legal papers, manuscript records, letter books and a substantial collection of incoming correspondence. Reading University meanwhile is home to 60,000 incoming letters spanning the period 1875 to 1967. Material pertinent to *Vacation Tourists* was found in the outgoing letter books and correspondence collections at the British Library. Although the lack of ledger material prevented a similar reconstruction of print runs and production costs as was possible with the Murray volumes, the large collection of incoming and outgoing correspondence make it possible to recover much information about the difficulties associated with producing an edited book series. Discussions between Macmillan and Galton concerning everything from the remit and title of the series to minute editorial details are found in the two-way correspondence. Likewise the letters not only reveal sales figures for particular editions of the series but also afford an impression of what Macmillan and Galton felt about individual contributors, essays and volumes. Indeed the correspondence reveals significant insights into the everyday stress and strain of publishing in ways which ledgers and account books could not.

These reflections point to some of the challenges associated with working with publishers' archives. While some have been destroyed or lost, others are highly selective in their coverage or not publicly accessible. Moreover, as Weedon notes, these were (and many continue to be) commercial businesses, meaning that 'many British publishers' archives are dispersed and correspondence and other material may be found in the archives of another firm, for instance, the firm that took them over, their bank, their solicitor, in the personal archive of the manager or family who began the firm'.⁹⁰ Further, it is not uncommon to find that letters pertaining to the

⁹⁰ A. Weedon, *Victorian Publishing: The Economics of Book Production for a Mass Market 1836–1916* (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2003), 22.

publication of the firm's most successful ventures have been weeded out of the main correspondence body. As a consequence, a single archive will rarely hold all the answers to questions relating to the production of a particular volume.

This is especially true when the venture in question has passed through a number of publishing houses. The subject of Chapter 6, *Our Ocean Highways* and the *Geographical Magazine*, was published variously by Edward Stanford, T. Pettit and Co., George Philip and Son and Trübner and Co. between 1870 and 1878. In this instance, it proved difficult to find any sustained archival trace of this project in the publishers' archives themselves. In the case of Stanford, there is no real archive to speak of for the period concerned as 'huge quantities' of the firm's records were disposed of when the firm moved premises in 1901. Following the sale of the firm to George Philip in the 1950s, a further collection of papers was destroyed, ensuring that 'A series of business letters from the second Edward Stanford written between 1892 and 1917 is the only real source of background information that we have'.⁹¹ Similarly, while a library of works bearing the George Philips imprint is housed within the Royal Geographical Society, the firm's business records have been lost in the intervening years following a series of mergers.⁹² Trübner and Co. joined the firm of Kegan Paul, Trench & Co. in 1889 and so it is within the larger Routledge and Kegan Paul, Ltd Archive at UCL that we find their remaining business papers. The Trübner material within this larger collection runs to 5 volumes of publication books (1851-1897), 8 volumes of publication account books (1854 – 1893) and 3 catalogues ([1869], 1882, 1883 all of which are on long-term loan to Routledge). While there is much evidence to be found of other well-known Trübner periodicals within these volumes, the *Geographical Magazine* and its earlier titles have not left the same trace, again highlighting that coverage within individual publishing archives can be uneven.

⁹¹ P. Whitfield, *The Mapmakers: A History of Stanfords*, (London: Edward Stanford Ltd, 2003), 6.

⁹² Personal communication with David Gaylard, Mapping Director of Philips and Bill Willett, who has edited several Philips Atlases including B.M. Willett, *Philips' Universal Atlas*, 150th Anniversary Edition, (London: Philip, 1984) which includes a history of the firm.

Correspondence and Personal Papers

Publishers' archives though provide just one route into the production process. Correspondence and archival collections relating to individual authors and editors can prove particularly informative even in cases where substantial material is available in an appropriate publishers' archive. That said, it is important to recognise that the politics behind archival compilation and preservation mean that some kinds of individuals are more likely to leave archival traces than others, significantly constraining research possibilities. Even where such archival sources are available, they are often diffuse and not always catalogued in detail.

The personal correspondence of David Livingstone and Francis Galton reveal significant insights into the nature of authorship, highlighting in particular the challenges faced by travellers who turned their hand to writing for publication. Livingstone's correspondence, though spread across a number of institutions, is relatively easy to access. The National Library of Scotland holds one of the largest collection of Livingstone material (including both manuscript originals and microfilm copies of collections held elsewhere) while other significant collections are increasingly accessible electronically through the Wellcome Trust's Livingstone Online project.⁹³ Letters such as those from Livingstone to naval captain Henry Toynbee and RGS Secretary Norton Shaw significantly extend our understanding of how such individuals came to shape *Missionary Travels* in ways which were rarely acknowledged.

The principal collection of Francis Galton's papers and correspondence, held in UCL Special Collections, affords similar insights into the construction of *The Art of Travel*. The Galton Archive is catalogued in three parts: personal and family papers, scientific papers, and correspondence. Within the personal papers and correspondence one finds not only an explanation of the rationale behind Galton's various publishing projects, including *The Art of Travel*, but also in this case information regarding the practice of compiling, testing and editing the various hints and suggestions contributed by other travellers. However, *Vacation Tourists* has left a much less visible trace in the Galton Archive. This may reflect the fact that letters have been lost or removed from the archive or that correspondence relating to the

⁹³ Livingstone Online, Wellcome Trust Centre for the History of Medicine at UCL,

venture was channelled through Macmillan's publishing house. *The Art of Travel* may be more visible within the archive because Galton had a much greater personal investment in this venture as the principal author and editor of the work. It is also worth noting that while there is a large collection of correspondence within the Galton Archive, many letters have been pasted into letter books to preserve the signatures of the author rather than the specific contents, leading to what in other respects seems a rather arbitrary collection.

Institutional Collections

As has already been noted, it is common to find archival papers and correspondence relating to individual authors and publishing ventures scattered across various archival depositories. Where there are strong links between an author and their work and particular institutions, the archives of those establishments can also yield further insights. Many of the authors, editors and publishers featured within this thesis enjoyed a close relationship with the Royal Geographical Society, making it an obvious repository to investigate. In the light of the lack of a substantial publishers' archive, the Fellows' Correspondence and Administrative Papers are crucial to understanding the rationale behind the *Geographical Magazine* in particular. Council and Committee Minute Books reveal much about the relationships between key figures within the RGS and the publication, including how Editor Clements Markham sought to promote the periodical within the Society while acting as RGS Secretary. Examining the Fellows' Correspondence for the same period helps to flesh-out the discussions recorded in the Minute Books and provides a greater impression of the fraught nature of the debate surrounding the role of popular publishing in conveying geographical knowledge in this period. The chronology of works provided in Appendix I emphasises the extent to which the publishing projects considered in this thesis overlapped at this time.

Published Volumes

In order to reconstruct the publishing history of the four publishing projects considered within this thesis, it was necessary to locate copies of the published volumes, in multiple formats, various editions and different languages as each case demanded. These volumes tell us much not only about how these four sets of texts came to market but also about the conditions surrounding their production. They also

provide concrete evidence of the outcome of the pre-publication decision-making process. While archival records might point to squabbles between authors, editors and publishers about the form and content of a work, it is often only possible to determine how disagreements were resolved by consulting the published works themselves. In the case of *The Art of Travel*, for example, the published copies of these editions revealed the nature of the revisions made to successive editions, while the Murray archive contained ample information regarding production costs and print runs. Furthermore, while the Galton Archive includes letters from fellow explorers offering insights for inclusion in future editions, it is the published volumes themselves that reveal the extent to which Galton edited these contributions before offering them under his own name.

To differing degrees, the editors and authors of publications studied in this thesis offered their readers an account of the origins and making of the work in question. Frequently these accounts were partial, hiding as much as they revealed. Nonetheless editorial contributions to *Our Ocean Highways* and the *Geographical Magazine* reveal important information about the role of the periodical's publishers and other individuals connected to the venture. The title pages too were an important means of tracing the publication's evolution as it moved through different hands, providing a firmer sense of when particular publishers and proprietors took charge and enabling wider reflection on the implications of such transitions.

Circulation and Replication

Chapter 1 introduced Secord's concept of 'literary replication', which helped to explain how texts operated in the marketplace, drawing attention to the variety of different ways that readers could encounter a given text. Many of the sources which reveal insights into the pre-publication lives of the projects considered in this thesis also yield significant information about their replication. These sources make it possible to reconstruct the wider markets in which these works circulated and to consider how each venture was positioned in relation to a range of other materials designed to convey information of travel and exploration. Furthermore, these sources reveal how publishers, authors, editors and others within the wider print trade sought to target these publications at specific groups of readers through the periodical press in particular.

Publishers' Archives

The publishers' archive does not cease to be of use once we move our focus out of the publishing house and into the marketplace. Publishers' obligations did not end once an initial print run was sent to market. Rather, distribution networks had to be maintained, advertising kept up and sales carefully monitored. Like their authors, publishers also kept a watchful eye on the reviewing press in order to gauge future demand. While it is clear that not all such activities will be recorded in the remains of every publishing archive, many hold useful insights into the ways that texts operated within a broader print market.

In the case of *Missionary Travels*, for instance, the Murray archive raises questions about the international circulation of Livingstone's narrative and also about the circulation of pirated editions within Britain. Ledgers and correspondence within the Murray archive also presented an insight into the relationship between *The Art of Campaigning* and *The Handbook for Switzerland*, both of which were completed by Galton while he was in the process of preparing editions of *The Art of Travel*. Additional materials within the Galton archive draw attention to the connections between these various publishing ventures. Likewise the Macmillan archive reveals that several of the contributions which eventually appeared within *Vacation Tourists* had been prepared with other outlets in mind, including the firm's own *Macmillan's Magazine*. Such snippets remind us that these ventures were part of a longer publishing career for many of the authors concerned and, particularly in the case of the periodical titles, encourage us to consider how these contributions relate to their other activities.

Periodical Press

The periodical press provides insights into the circulation and replication of these publishing ventures in a number of ways. Firstly, through consideration of advertising it was possible to identify how particular works were targeted at specific groups, to recognise which volumes were classified together and to discover where particular publications could be accessed under what terms. Advertisements, placed variously by publishers, booksellers and proprietors of circulating libraries, encourage us to consider how works were strategically positioned and repositioned over time and (printed) space and consider the motives behind such actions. Secondly, reviews within the periodical press act as evidence of reception and of

replication, as attempts to communicate knowledge of a particular work to other readers who may or may not go on to enjoy a subsequent extended encounter with another form of the same text. Periodical reviews also served to suggest links between different published works, whether intended by their authors or not. Thirdly, it was possible to consider how material within these publications moved through a variety of different print spaces, including other contemporary periodicals. The movement of material was traced in a variety of ways, including using electronic search tools, focusing upon connections identified within various archives, adverts and periodical reviews. In the case of the *Geographical Magazine*, for example, a case study of how the controversy surrounding Henry Morton Stanley was covered in a range of periodicals helps to demonstrate how material circulated in accordance with both the particular allegiances of editors and authors but also how this movement was shaped by the periodical format and rhythm.

Published Volumes

The published volumes demonstrate how these texts physically circulated in the market and so also provide important clues as to their relationship with other rival publications. Bringing together multiple editions of *The Art of Travel*, with the *Handbook to Switzerland*, *Hints to Travellers* and *The Art of Campaigning* served to clarify the possible links between these publications at specific points in time. This was also true of *Vacation Tourists* and *Peaks, Passes and Glaciers*. While reviewers could point towards possible connections, the nature of any linkage could really only be ascertained by studying the volumes themselves. Similarly, it was only through periodical advertisements that it was possible to pin down which piracies were causing Murray and Livingstone such concern. The many translations which were located using the Bibliography of Scottish Literature in Translation (BOSLIT) allowed further questions to be raised about the ways that the narrative was repackaged for different markets, both by authorised and unauthorised publishers.⁹⁴

⁹⁴ Bibliography of Scottish Literature in Translation (BOSLIT), National Library of Scotland,

Reception

In order to investigate questions concerning the reception of geographical works, it is clearly necessary to follow these works out of the publishing house. In this thesis, the problem of readership is approached from a variety of angles depending on both the nature of the publishing venture and the available sources. Rather than offering generalised accounts of how imagined readers might have read a book or a periodical, this thesis considers both the intended audience for these works and the specific responses of identified readers. Seen in this way, issues of reception may be approached through a variety of sources, including publishers' archives and material in print, as well as archival evidence from individual readers where it exists.

Intended Readership

Publishers' archives can reveal much about both the intended and the actual audience for a work. Author-publisher correspondence dealing with the preparation of both textual and paratextual materials in particular often directly acknowledges the perceived expectations of the groups they wish to target. Even where traces of such discussions do not survive within the archive, one can glean evidence of the intended audience from the form and contents of the published volumes themselves. As Secord's work indicates, inferences about the social composition of particular markets for print can often be drawn from the material construction of books and periodicals. Previous research has considered how specific textual and paratextual devices encourage particular ways of reading and specific interpretations of the work as a whole.⁹⁵

Sales figures and print runs meanwhile can provide evidence about the ongoing commercial success (or otherwise) of particular ventures. However, it is important to recognise that the number of copies printed does not necessarily map straight-forwardly onto copies *read*: some purchased copies might have remained unopened, gathering dust on bookshelves while others may have been shared among a great many individuals. Furthermore, there were multiple sources of information about the contents of these ventures in addition to the published works themselves.

⁹⁵ G. Genette and M. Maclean, 'Introduction to the paratext', *New Literary History* 22 (1991), 261-272; B. Bell, 'Victorian paratexts', *Victorian Literature and Culture* 27 (1999), 327-335; R.J. Mayhew, 'Materialist hermeneutics, textuality and the history of geography: print spaces in British geography, c.1500-1900', *Journal of Historical Geography* 33 (2007), 487-488.

Advertisements, for instance, reveal further insights about the perceived readership for these titles while also providing examples of how potential readers could come to 'know' a work without picking up a copy: adverts regularly quoted passages from and/or favourable reviews of, the published work in question. Many advertisements for *Missionary Travels*, in particular, highlighted how booksellers would explicitly target specific groups such as reading circles or those seeking gifts for children. Additionally, adverts for circulating libraries which named *Missionary Travels* specifically not only reveal specific locations in which the work would have been available, they also suggest that the work was sought-after and considered suitable for their customers. Library catalogues also constitute valuable resources in this respect.

'Real Readers'

Information regarding the intended and perceived audience for a particular publishing project becomes more insightful when considered alongside evidence relating to specific responses. Such evidence can help to explain how interpretations varied across time and space, being deeply embedded within specific historical and geographical contexts. However, as desirable as it might be to recover the first-hand responses of a wide range of readers, this endeavour is very much constrained by the accessibility of source materials, as noted in Chapter 1. While there are no doubt countless insights into the reading experience of particular individuals tucked away in letters and diaries in archives far and wide, the difficulty lies in locating them.

Chapter 4 includes the most explicit discussion of individual responses to a publication that do not come from periodical reviews. The evidence on the ways that Richard Burton and James Collins used Galton's *Art of Travel* may not, however, have come to light had it not been signalled within the catalogue to the extensive Galton Archive at UCL. While I may have come across Burton's personal copy of Galton's manual or evidence of his use of it in editing the *Prairie Traveller*, I certainly would not have sought out botanist James Collins had his very own '*vade mecum*' not found its way into the Galton collection. Moreover, as wonderful as it can be to find such examples of the direct experience of readership, individual responses can no more stand for wider patterns of reception than periodical reviews can. In both cases, they need to be treated as situated responses and contextualised accordingly.

Furthermore, remembering that nineteenth-century reading practices often involved more than a solitary interaction between a reader and a material text, the problem remains: how are we to access more sociable textual encounters based not simply on silent reading but on talking and listening?⁹⁶ Chapter 4, for example, highlights how Galton's manual formed the basis of a series of lectures for soldiers at Aldershot. Reconstructing responses to these lectures posed specific challenges in addition to those associated with building up a picture of responses to printed editions. The very nature of both the lectures and practical course, and the audience that it attracted made it difficult to locate printed evidence of reception.

Periodical Reviews

In the absence of systematic evidence of individual reading experiences, periodical reviews provide an alternative route into considering how particular works of travel and exploration were received. While Cavell acknowledges that 'Periodical writers undoubtedly had ideological aims, and their representations of themselves as readers are not simple mirrors of reality', she also argues that 'If the evidence to be found in periodicals is treated with proper caution and sometimes read against the grain, it seems entirely appropriate to use it as a means of approaching the question of reader response'.⁹⁷ Similarly, Topham notes that while reviews have been widely considered as evidence of the responses of individual reviewers, they can also provide insights into wider 'communities of readers'. In making this argument he is following the work of Chartier who argued that such communities were identifiable by what he termed 'reading ability' and 'norms and conventions of reading that ... define legitimate uses of the book, ways to read and the instruments and methods of interpretation'.⁹⁸ Additionally, Chartier suggested that 'the expectations and interests that various groups of readers invest in the practice of reading ... determine the way in which texts can be read and read differently by readers who do not have the same

⁹⁶ C. Pawley, 'Seeking "significance"', *Book History* 5 (2006), 144; J. Secord, 'How scientific conversation became shop talk' in A. Fyfe and B. Lightman, *Science in the Marketplace: Nineteenth-Century Sites and Experiences* (Chicago: Chicago University Press, 2007), 23-59.

⁹⁷ J. Cavell, *Tracing the Connected Narrative*, 35.

⁹⁸ J. Topham, 'Scientific publishing and the reading of science in nineteenth-century Britain: a historiographical survey and guide to sources', *Studies in the History and Philosophy of Science* 31 (2000), 572.

intellectual baggage or relationship with the written word'.⁹⁹ Topham contends that 'reviews were themselves subject to an active process of reading shaped by the practices of the reading community, and they must be read in that light'.¹⁰⁰ Periodical reviews were targeted towards increasingly specific groups of readers who were assumed to share the same values and expectations and so, while acknowledging that readers did not necessarily agree wholeheartedly with the opinions expressed in the publications they read, wider conclusions can nevertheless be drawn from individual reviews.¹⁰¹ Reviews must, of course, be understood within the context of the publications in which they appear but also in relation to a wider culture of reviewing.

It is also important to note that different sorts of publishing projects are often associated with different kinds of reviewing strategies. While *Missionary Travels* was the subject of many lengthy review essays, often including substantial extracts from the text, the periodical ventures considered in this thesis attracted more limited commentary. The publicity surrounding the publication of *Missionary Travels* encouraged frequent and substantial reviews (which in turn served to perpetuate interest in the volume). However, it is important to remember that works with this kind of public impact were not the norm: plenty of travel and exploration texts made important contributions to knowledge without daily recognition in the periodical press. Works like Galton's *The Art of Travel*, for instance, prompted extensive comment but were certainly not reviewed as widely as *Missionary Travels*. Different formats too lent themselves more or less readily to review. In the case of *Vacation Tourists*, reviewers would regularly mention one or two essays in detail before offering a general impression of that volume or even the series as a whole. As reviewers foregrounded different essays according to their own preferences, it proved difficult to compare and contrast the responses offered in different reviewing publications. In the case of a more frequent serial publication such as the *Geographical Magazine*, there was a tendency to simply 'notice' the appearance of the latest issue highlighting at most one or two feature titles. Rarely though did reviewers attempt to comment upon the value of the venture as a whole. Periodical

⁹⁹ R. Chartier, *The Order of Books: Readers, Authors and Libraries in Europe Between the 14th and 18th Centuries* (California: Stanford University Press, 1994), 4.

¹⁰⁰ Topham, 'Scientific publishing and the reading of science in nineteenth-century Britain', 575-576.

¹⁰¹ Topham, 'Scientific publishing and the reading of science in nineteenth-century Britain', 573.

reviews can act as valuable routes to reception then but it is important to bear in mind the different challenges associated with researching single- and multi-authored works in this way. In the case of the *Geographical Magazine*, it proved difficult to locate either extensive reviews of particular issues or evidence of individual responses to specific articles. The question of reception can be broached from a number of other angles, however. On the one hand, Minute Books and Fellows' correspondence from the RGS revealed a long running debate over the value of the publication and the knowledge within its pages, providing insights into responses to the *Magazine* within the Society. Published advertising materials and the issues of the *Magazine* itself also offered information about sales and circulation while it was also possible to gather insights about the intended audience for the different versions of the periodical from these sources.

2.5 Electronic Resources

The potential of periodical reviews as a source and subject of research has been transformed by the recent development of electronic resources designed to enable broader insights into nineteenth-century print culture. While the use of electronic media for conducting, disseminating and consuming research has become commonplace in academia more widely, the proliferation of digital editions of indexes, databases and related materials all designed to make the periodical archive more accessible is especially striking. Work in the field of digital humanities has encouraged book historians and historians of science to think critically about the uses and implications of electronic resources in historical research, though historical geographers have not engaged much in these debates.¹⁰² It is still relatively rare, as Stauffer notes, to find reviews of digital content within scholarly journals.¹⁰³ Yet the

¹⁰² See the special issue of *Journal of Victorian Culture* 13 (2008) and P. Leary, 'Googling the Victorians', *Journal of Victorian Culture* 10 (2005), 72-86 for an introduction to some of the main concerns surrounding both the production and use of electronic resources in nineteenth-century research.

¹⁰³ A.M. Stauffer 'Digital scholarly resources for the study of Victorian literature and culture', *Victorian Literature and Culture* 39 (2010), 293. Exceptions though are to be found in the *Journal of Victorian Culture* which now includes a Digital Forum within each issue and NINES which promotes and publishes peer-reviewed digital content relevant to nineteenth-century research,

impact of these technologies on the future landscape of historical research should not be underestimated. As Thomas contends,

digitisation is currently reshaping Victorian studies, constructing a canon of what is, and should be, made available and, by implication, what is, and what should be, studied. In effect, digitization is creating an idea of what Victorian culture is.¹⁰⁴

For this reason if no other, such sources need to be approached in the same critical light as others occupying more traditional formats.

To date, research into nineteenth-century periodical publishing has largely been shaped by the availability of a limited set of finding-aids. 'Until recently, the invaluable *Wellesley Index of Victorian Periodicals* (1966-89) has largely defined the canonical list of titles used by scholars'.¹⁰⁵ In addition to the *Wellesley Index*, which attributed authorship to articles published in 43 mainstream periodicals, other notable aids include *Palmers' Index to The Times* (which helps to explain why this newspaper is repeatedly used to represent nineteenth-century opinion *en masse* despite its relatively limited circulation) and Poole's *Index to Periodical Literature* which offered subject listings based on terms used in the titles of articles appearing in 479 British and American periodicals.¹⁰⁶ However, these indexes only begin to scratch the surface: John North, compiler of the *Waterloo Directory of English Newspapers and Periodicals*, estimates that some 125,000 periodical titles were published in this period.¹⁰⁷ These titles were increasingly targeted towards highly specific groups of readers, and often appealed to individuals who would not have been catered for by the more celebrated monthlies and quarterlies. Accessing the breadth of periodical literature published in the period has for a long time proved difficult as many of these ventures were short-lived and therefore, as Mussell and Paylor note, 'if they survive at all, it is usually in small, fragmentary runs, often

¹⁰⁴ J. Thomas, 'Digital transformations', *Journal of Victorian Culture* 13 (2008), 103.

¹⁰⁵ G. Cantor et al, 'Introduction' in G. Cantor et al (eds.), *Culture and Science in Nineteenth-Century Media* (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2004), xix-xx.

¹⁰⁶ J. Topham, 'Accessing the content of nineteenth-century periodicals: the Science in the Nineteenth Century Periodical project', *Serials* 20 (2007), 21.

¹⁰⁷ Dawson and Topham, 'Science in the nineteenth-century periodical', 6.

housed in unexpected places'.¹⁰⁸ Digitisation promises to make such sources newly available to a large number of researchers.

New Resources: New Research Questions?

As the number and range of periodicals, newspapers and books which are indexed and rendered searchable online proliferates so too do the possibilities for research into a much wider sample of publications and their readers. The scope and aims of current digitization initiatives relevant to nineteenth-century print vary considerably with some focusing on indexing content while others offer facsimile images of pages with or without the ability to carry out in-depth searches. There are disadvantages and advantages associated with each approach. However, it is clear that the volume of material that has now been rendered accessible electronically has significantly altered the research environment for scholars of nineteenth-century print in recent years: as Topham explains, '[T]he capacity [electronic resources] provide for locating references to individuals, institutions, publications, events and concepts can circumvent weeks, months, or even years of painstaking research, and thus make possible research projects that were previously unthinkable'.¹⁰⁹

Within the context of this thesis, electronic resources were crucial to identifying the connections between publishing contexts, titles, authors, editors, publishers, readers and institutions which each chapter outlines. (Appendix II provides more information about the specific electronic resources used in the course of my research). Being able to follow each publishing project through a number of different print spaces including periodical advertisements, reviews, articles and multiple editions was fundamental to understanding the role of print and publishing more generally in fashioning understandings associated with travel and exploration.

However, it is not only the growing quantity of print sources available that allows us to ask new questions. Digitization has resulted in greater access to a wider range of printed materials rendering it possible to ask new questions about how knowledge was packaged in accordance with the conventions of different genres and the perceived expectations of specific readers. To give just one example within this

¹⁰⁸ J. Mussell and S. Paylor, 'Mapping the "Mighty Maze:" the Nineteenth Century Serials Edition', *19: Interdisciplinary Studies in the Long Nineteenth Century* 1 (2005), 3.

¹⁰⁹ Topham, 'Accessing the content of nineteenth-century periodicals', 24-25.

thesis, electronic resources located materials which provided significant insights into the wider circulation of *Missionary Travels*, especially in pirated and translated editions, revealing that there was a long overlooked publishing history surrounding Livingstone's narrative which extended far beyond the celebrated 1857 Murray edition (as discussed in Chapter 3). Several digitization projects offered new insights into the Murray editions too though by providing the necessary tools to locate and analyse a wide array of published reviews, including a number which were explicitly aimed at groups which have traditionally been under-represented in historical accounts.¹¹⁰ By contextualising these reviews it is possible to draw out similarities and differences between reviewers' responses and also to suggest *why* certain reviewers or groups of reviewers might have responded in specific ways. As well as highlighting the importance of factors such as religion, political affiliation, gender and class in shaping how particular texts were reviewed, digitization has also encouraged researchers to reconsider how geography impacted the way that particular ideas circulated within and beyond Britain.

New Resources: New Methodologies?

For all the rhetoric of new research possibilities, in practice many scholars continue to use periodical databases in particular for a relatively limited set of ends, continuing to view the periodical as a source of information about specific contexts, issues or events, rather than as an object of study in its own right. As Mussell explains, 'Digital resources, because of the way they have been designed, facilitate the mining of their contents for information, and so will consolidate the idea of the press as an undifferentiated mass of content from which to abstract choice portions'.¹¹¹ There is some concern then that researchers will be encouraged to pluck passages of text out of their original contexts in order to bolster a particular argument. This criticism is certainly not unique to users of digital content: it is

¹¹⁰ Part I of Gale Cengage's 19th Century UK Periodicals series, for instance, is dedicated to 'new readerships' and provides access to a selection of periodicals designed for women and children and also to a number which take humour or leisure and sport as their focal point. These and other projects including *British Library Newspapers I and II* have widened access to regional titles providing greater opportunities to consider the spread of responses to particular events. See Appendix II for full details of these and other electronic resources used in this thesis.

¹¹¹ J. Mussell, 'Ownership, institutions, and methodology', *Journal of Victorian Culture* 13 (2008), 96.

important not to romanticise the virtues of the pre- or non-digital research environment as if it necessarily brought researchers closer to the reading experience of Victorians. While modern libraries may contain large numbers of bound volumes, the majority of nineteenth-century readers would have encountered unbound issues complete with their wrappers, covers and supplements which are often removed prior to binding.¹¹²

Both Topham and Mussell have argued that it is necessary to develop new methodologies which take into account the specific challenges of using digital resources for historical research.¹¹³ While digitization has undoubtedly extended research possibilities beyond the narrow canon of publications which have dominated scholarship until recently, it remains the case that the publications which are most accessible are not necessarily those that were *most influential* or widely read in their day. A host of contingent factors mean that some publications lend themselves to digitisation more readily than others while the specific agendas of content providers and funding councils also guide not only what is digitised and when but also who gains access to that content and under what terms. This has both theoretical and methodological implications, shaping both the materials open to investigation and also the wider research environment in which this work is conducted. As Appendix II illustrates, while some projects are freely accessible to anyone with internet access (SciPer, Nineteenth-Century Serials Edition, Internet Library of Early Journals, Internet Archive, Project Gutenberg, Google Books, for instance), many others are only fully available to subscribed users (Periodicals Archive Online, 19th Century UK Periodicals, Proquest Historical Newspapers, and so on). At a time when research budgets are being squeezed across the board, expensive institutional subscriptions stand as real barriers to widening access to these resources: digitization certainly does not always equate to democratization.

Furthermore, questions of access aside, it can be difficult even to identify which resources are available. The number of digitization projects appears to be growing exponentially and while many such ventures are high-profile collaborations between research institutions and commercial partners, there are many other smaller

¹¹² J. Mussell and S. Paylor, 'Mapping the "Mighty Maze:" the Nineteenth Century Serials Edition', 4.

¹¹³ Topham, 'Accessing the content of nineteenth-century periodicals', 25; Mussell, 'Ownership, institutions, and methodology', 94.

projects resulting from individual efforts.¹¹⁴ Furthermore, in the case of large commercial ventures, publishers often decide to integrate existing tools into new products which provides greater functionality but also often results in multiple gateways to the same resources. While many Victorian-related websites including the Victoria Research Web and Victorian Web contain lists of electronic resources and websites, it remains a challenge to locate a definitive and up-to-date list of what is available. The British Library's list of electronic resources is a useful starting point for subscription resources in particular, but many of the freely accessible collections utilised in this thesis were located following internet searches and recommendations from colleagues.

Once identified, it is important to consider what exactly the various electronic publishing ventures offer in terms of content, coverage and functionality. Most, if not all, electronic resources contain sections on editorial policy which can reveal significant insights into the decision-making process surrounding the production of these research tools. While content providers might shout about what is gained through digitization we must also pay attention to what might be lost or hidden. Key questions include whether wrappers, advertising supplements and other ephemera have been removed prior to digitization; whether the whole print run has been included or simply those issues which fall within the remit of the project; and whether this was the only edition of the publication to appear or one of several. It is important to consider whether we are comparing like for like when we bring together materials accessed through different gateways. Moreover, users should acknowledge that digitization projects produce new digital editions of particular copies of works, not exact replicas of hard copy originals. Many of the maps originally published within nineteenth-century translations of *Missionary Travels*, for instance, have been removed prior to or while being digitised for sites such as Google Books and the Internet Archive. This reminds us that the utility of sources will inevitably vary, depending on the specific aims of a research project. In the course of research undertaken for this thesis, the vast majority of books and periodicals discussed at length were consulted in both digital and hard copy. The inclusiveness and

¹¹⁴ See for example, Gavan Tredoux's burtoniana.org and galton.org which provide access to digital facsimiles of the published writings of these explorers (accessed 01/06/2011).

exclusiveness of individual databases and indexes can vary in important ways as do cataloguing strategies. Again these are not issues unique to electronic repositories but as Mussell notes, if we examine such editorial decisions, we are better placed to use these materials in an effective and critical manner.¹¹⁵

Different electronic resources have been constructed to serve different purposes. As Topham points out, for example, the design of the *Wellesley* and *Poole's Indexes* which are both now available electronically makes them less well equipped to provide insights into the presence of particular subjects within the periodical titles they cover.¹¹⁶ The *Waterloo Directory* certainly goes further in this respect, in both coverage and sophistication, allowing users to both browse and search according to their own specific criteria. The Science in the Nineteenth Century Periodical index though has been designed specifically with this aim in mind, drawing upon the expertise of historians in order to manually index the presence of science within a set of non-specialist periodicals. As Mussell and Paylor note, this allows this particular resource to produce quite different insights: 'Whereas the other indices treat the archive (however they define it) as a resource from which data must be extracted, *SciPer* – while doing something similar – foregrounds the role of the periodical in constituting this information'.¹¹⁷

Users of electronic resources are increasingly able to combine such indexes with searchable databases of facsimile images of individual pages which may help to overcome some of the fears about such resources encouraging a dramatic de-contextualisation by abstracting material from its original position within the issue as a whole. Viewing what was printed alongside a particular article or commentary can prove enlightening, helping to highlight how complementary or contradictory content could often be juxtaposed within a single issue or even page. Searches rely upon OCR software to convert words on the printed page into electronic 'hits' and so the accuracy of searches will always be determined to some degree by the sophistication of the available software. As Patrick Leary notes, too many returns can be debilitating and researchers need to develop new approaches to searching efficiently and effectively: 'Learning to refine searches using Boolean logic and

¹¹⁵ Mussell, 'Ownership, institutions, and methodology', 98.

¹¹⁶ Topham, 'Accessing the content of nineteenth-century periodicals', 21.

¹¹⁷ J. Mussell and S. Paylor, 'Mapping the "Mighty Maze:" the Nineteenth Century Serials Edition', 8.

other technologies is an art in which all online researchers are obliged to acquire some proficiency'.¹¹⁸ A certain amount of time then has to be built into the research process to allow researchers to familiarise themselves with the particular characteristics of individual databases. Where researchers simply 'jump into' searching they are more likely to remain oblivious to such limitations, equating lots of search results with comprehensiveness.¹¹⁹

* * *

This chapter has explored how the conceptual framework introduced in Chapter 1 might be applied to the specific context of travel and exploration publishing in the mid-Victorian period. It has also evaluated various methods and approaches that might be utilised to shed light on the production, dissemination and consumption of a select sample of Mid-Victorian texts. The four case studies have been introduced, as have the sources and methods used in researching each of the chapters to follow. All that remains is for the reader to embark on their own journey into the world of mid-Victorian travel and exploration publishing.

¹¹⁸ Leary, *'Googling the Victorians'*, 81.

¹¹⁹ J. Mussell, 'Ownership, institutions, and methodology', 96-97.

Figures

| | | | |
|-----------------------|--|----------|-----|
| 1854 } Nov. 15 | Galton's Art of Travel Post 8 ⁰⁰ | 1000 No. | 160 |
| | Woodfall Printing 8 Sheets - 3-11-6 - 28-12-0 | | |
| | Corrections 1/2-11-8-0 | | |
| | 16 Reams 14 1/2 crown - 20/ 16 . . | 40 . . | |
| | Woodcuts 20 . . | 20 . . | |
| | Advertising 20 . . | 20 . . | |
| 4/ 4/6 4/2 | Boarding 1000 Copies 8/- | 24 . . | |
| 1000 - 25/24 - 4/ 192 | | 120 . . | |
| 1855 } Nov. 15 | Second Edition | 1500 No. | |
| | Corrections, setting Index &c 27-10-0 | | |
| | Proof Work, extra for Cuts 26-10-0 | | |
| | Goldpapers 2-10-8 | | |
| | 33 Reams 14 1/2 crown 20/ 33 . . | 56 10 . | |
| | Extra for Cuts 20 . . | 20 . . | |
| | Advertising 35 10 . | 35 10 . | |
| 4/ 4/6 4/2 | Boarding 1500 Copies 8/- | 40 . . | |
| 1500 - 25/24 - 4/ 253 | | 185 . . | |

| | | | |
|-----------------|--|------|--|
| 216 } May 26 | Livingstone's Journals 8 ⁰⁰ (640 pp) 12000 No. | | |
| | Blowers Composing 200 Shts (14 1/2) - 4/ - 100-0-0 | | |
| | Press Work 900 runs Press 4/ - 240-0-0 | | |
| | Printing Woodcuts 300 copies 25-0-0 | | |
| | Selling up in Slips 25-0-0 | | |
| | Corrections & Goldpapers 150-0-0 | | |
| | Electrotyping 3 sets Cuts 25-0-0 | | |
| | 2000 Reams demy 634 | | |
| | do do for Woodcuts 20/ 105 10 6 | | |
| | Lithographs Day & Son (5000 No) Ford & Mead (3000 No) 180 | | |
| | Whymper Engraving Woodcuts 250 | | |
| | Holf Drawing Subjects on Wood 75 | | |
| | medium Printing 12000 Imp of Portrait 55 | | |
| | Roll Engraving 2 Portraits 55 | | |
| | Curry Smith Engraving Two Maps 75 | | |
| | Paper & Paint 2 do 240 | | |
| | Advertising 150 9 | | |
| | Boarding 12000 Copies - 11 540 | | |
| | | 3284 | |
| | Early Sheet 200 | | |
| | 24/ 16/ 15/- | | |
| | 12000 25/24 - 14 8064 | | |
| | | 8264 | |

2.2 John Murray's Estimates: Galton's *Art of Travel* (1854) and 'Livingstone's Journals' (1857),
John Murray Archive, MS42721, National Library of Scotland

Livingstone 72
Haley Green
Aug. 1857
#4 - Aug 24
1857...

My Dear Mr. Murray
I have always
thought that Sir
Roderick ought to
share all the
honours which
a dedication
could give. The

everything which
troubled my mind
in addition to this
was that Mr
Mackay having
been a great
deal of disinterested
kindness. I
perhaps might
make a sort of
double dedication

Revised 11/11/11

DEDICATION.

SIR RODERICK IMPEY MURCHISON.
President Royal Geographical Society,
F.R.S., F.G.S., V.P.S.A., CORR. MEM. INST. OF FRANCE, &c.
President of the London & Edinburgh Geographical Societies,
Edinburgh, Glasgow, &c.

Chis. W. M. M.

Is ~~affectionately~~ offered as a Token of Gratitude for the
kind interest he has always taken in the Author's pursuits and family, and to
express Admiration of his eminent scientific attainments, by a detail of the
way in which the Author was undauntedly led to prove the correctness of
the hypothesis respecting the physical conformation of the African continent,
first given to the world in the Presidential Address to the Royal Geographical
Society in 1852, three years before the Author of these travels recognized it as
the spot.

Revised and proof read
by the Author
Aug 24 1857

2.3 Sources from the John Murray Archive: Livingstone's Dedication in *Missionary Travels*
Left and Centre: Extract from D. Livingstone to J. Murray, August 24, 1857, MS42420
Right: Manuscript proof, MS42431

Chapter 3

Circulation and Reception:

Missionary Travels and Researches in South Africa

This chapter examines how publishers and the publishing industry helped to shape the way that knowledge arising from travel and exploration was produced, disseminated and consumed in particular print spaces. More specifically, it takes published exploration narratives, the dominant form of travel publishing since the end of the eighteenth century, as its focal point. Narrative accounts of exploration during the late eighteenth and nineteenth centuries were bound up in debates about authorship, authority and authenticity, particularly in the wake of the controversy surrounding the volumes associated with Cook's voyages in the 1770s.¹ By the end of the eighteenth century, there was an expectation that exploration would give rise to first-hand narrative accounts based upon direct personal experience.² However, the fact that travellers themselves rarely excelled in literary endeavours though presented publishers with a dilemma: how to render a volume commercially appealing while also maintaining its status (or at least appearance) as an authentic, authoritative account based on first-hand experience.³

As the market for travel books expanded during the mid-nineteenth century so other challenges presented themselves, threatening to undermine the authoritative status of the published exploration narrative further. The expensive, heavily-illustrated volumes published by well-established houses such as John Murray and Blackwoods were beyond the reaches of large sections of the increasingly literate public, a fact which the growing number of periodical publications dedicated to working- and middle-class readers recognised. These publications fed the demand

¹ J. Cavell, *Tracing the Connected Narrative: Arctic Exploration in British Print Culture, 1818-1860* (Toronto and London: University of Toronto Press, 2008), 16.

² The first published narrative of Cook's voyages was prepared by John Hawkesworth. Although based upon Cook's own journals, it was to vary significantly from the accounts offered by those who were present on the journey, including that of Cook himself. On the controversy this event sparked and its impact upon subsequent exploration narratives see G. Williams, 'To Make Discoveries of Countries Hitherto Unknown': The Admiralty and Pacific exploration in the eighteenth century' in A. Frost and J. Samson (eds.), *Pacific Empires: Essays in Honour of Glyndwr Williams*, (Vancouver: UBC Press, 1999), 13-32; J. Cavell, *Tracing the Connected Narrative*, 15-19 and I.S. MacLaren, 'From exploration to publication: the evolution of a 19th-century Arctic narrative' *Arctic*, 47 (1994), 43-53.

³ Recent work examining how field notes, journals and diaries were transformed for publication includes I.S. MacLaren, 'Exploration/travel literature and the evolution of the author', *International Journal of Canadian Studies* 5 (1992) 39-68; R. Bridges, 'Explorers' texts and the problem of reactions by non-literate peoples: some nineteenth-century East African examples', *Studies in Travel Writing*, 2 (1998), 65-84 and D. Finkelstein, 'Africa rewritten: the case of John Hanning Speke' in D. Finkelstein, *The House of Blackwood: Author Publisher Relations in the Victoria Era* (Pennsylvania, Pennsylvania University Press, 2002), 49-69. Of particular relevance to this chapter is the recent paper by C.W.J. Withers and I.M. Keighren, 'Travels into print: authoring, editing and narratives of travel and exploration, c.1815 – c.1857', *Transactions of the Institute of British Geographers*, 36 (2011), 560-573, which discusses travel literature published by John Murray.

for information about travellers and their adventures through articles, extracts and reviews which were prepared with their highly specific readerships in mind. In some instances, publishers and authors would even plagiarise or pirate whole volumes in an attempt to benefit from the success of a particularly sought-after volume. Such publications played an important role in producing, disseminating and contesting claims associated with travel yet the relationship between these publications and the exploration narratives they discussed has received little attention. Examining the production, circulation and consumption of published accounts of travel though highlights the strategies used to convince readers of the authenticity of particular editions, the wider range of print spaces implicated in battles over authority and the extent to which decisions taken in the public house influenced the responses of particular readers.

Using David Livingstone's *Missionary Travels and Researches in South Africa* as an exemplar⁴, this chapter raises wider questions about the nature of author-publisher relations, about the relationship between authorship, authority and authenticity and about the reception of published exploration accounts. Section 3.1 explores the production of the first edition of *Missionary Travels* pointing to the collaborative nature of authorship and the strategies used by Murray and Livingstone in order to render the explorer's manuscript publishable yet still credible as an authentic unadorned account of his adventures. From here we follow *Missionary Travels* into three different marketplaces exploring the circulation of Livingstone's narrative in Britain, America and Europe (Sections 3.2-3.4). This account indicates that books of travel regularly crossed national and linguistic borders and also that authorised editions were supplemented and sometimes undermined by competitors. Finally, Section 3.5 explores a selection of the English-language reviews which appeared in the years immediately following the publication of *Missionary Travels*. Bearing in mind the points made in Chapter 2 concerning the use of reviews as a route to reader response, the number and breadth of publications which carried reviews of this particular exploration account is striking (see Appendix III). This prompts us to consider how Livingstone's narrative was presented to different readerships through the periodical press.

⁴ D. Livingstone, *Missionary Travels and Researches in South Africa Including a Sketch of Sixteen Years' Residence in the Interior of Africa and a Journey from the Cape of Good Hope to Loanda on the West Coast; Thence Across the Continent, Down the River Zambesi, to the Eastern Ocean*, (London: John Murray, 1857).

3.1 From the Field to the Publishing House: Authorship as Collaboration

David Livingstone was already a household name when he returned to England in December 1856. Throughout his sixteen-year residence in Africa, the newspaper and periodical press had kept the reading public up-to-date with his missionary activities and geographical ‘discoveries’. The fanfare that Livingstone met with upon his return, largely orchestrated by President of the Royal Geographical Society, Roderick Murchison, only served to heighten public interest in the explorer and his adventures. There was a clear market therefore for a publication recounting his years in Africa, a fact which was not lost on publisher John Murray III. On 5th January 1857, only three weeks after the explorer had returned from Africa, Murray gently prodded Livingstone to make a decision about whether his firm would have the privilege of publishing his much sought-after narrative. In order to secure a manuscript Murray had offered to bear ‘the whole cost of publication including engraving of map, plates & all other incidental expenses, bearing whatever risque there may be’ in return for one-third of each edition’s profits.⁵ Murray was not familiar with Livingstone’s literary qualifications (or lack thereof) when he made this offer. Rather his calculations were based solely on the perceived market for the narrative. As he explained to Livingstone, the standard of writing required to render a work of publishable quality could easily be achieved with outside assistance if necessary: ‘Should you need any literary assistance or advice in the preparation of your MSS for the press I should have no difficulty in procuring it for you’.⁶ This form of collaboration was commonplace, as Withers and Keighren have recently argued, being considered part and parcel of the investment required to produce a commercially viable product.⁷

When Murray learned from Murchison that ‘offers had been made ... by other persons’, the publisher bettered the terms of his original proposal, offering a two thousand guinea advance to be paid once the work was published. Murray hoped that this would convince Livingstone that his firm had both the financial capability and

⁵ J. Murray to D. Livingstone, January 5, 1857, Outgoing Correspondence, John Murray Archive, MS41912, National Library of Scotland.

⁶ J. Murray to D. Livingstone, January 5, 1857, Outgoing Correspondence, John Murray Archive, MS41912, National Library of Scotland.

⁷ Withers and Keighren, ‘Travels into print’

the desire to 'promote [his] interests at least as much as any other publisher'.⁸ Although Livingstone had privately expressed doubts as to his ability to produce a publishable narrative, he nevertheless accepted Murray's terms. It was clear from the outset though that transforming his field notes and journals into a manuscript was going to be a considerable undertaking. Although Livingstone had written letters for publication this was the first substantial piece of writing he had undertaken and his lack of experience proved telling. After a period of struggling to make headway under his own steam, Livingstone tried dictating passages to one of Murray's employees. However, this too was to frustrate the explorer who found that he was 'quite unable to dictate continuously or give a connected narrative without seeing the preceding parts of the sentence'.⁹ Simply deciphering his own notes was to prove a significant challenge for Livingstone. As explained in the published preface, 'Greater smoothness of diction, and a saving of time, might have been secured by the employment of a person accustomed to compilation; but my journals having been kept for my own private purposes, no one else could have made use of them ..'.¹⁰

Murray and his literary advisors were of course on hand to assist Livingstone. On several occasions, they successfully convinced Livingstone to alter the content, style or tone of his manuscript. The published narrative began, for instance, with 'a personal sketch' of the author, included, at the suggestion of 'several friends, in whose judgement I have confidence' on the grounds that the 'reader likes to know something about the author'.¹¹ Livingstone revealed that Mr Binney, one of Murray's assistants, had also shaped the content of the author's history so that the explorer might appear honest, hard-working, self-educated and crucially, religious but not over-zealous with it:

He advised a few sentences on the change in the feelings in my history without which many religious people would set the book down as merely intellectual affair and that I was not a religious missionary at all. I do so in 4 or 5 sentences. I then state that I will not refer to the religious feelings again nor the evangelistic labours which impelled me this will take away the handle which some might use against it.¹²

⁸ J. Murray to D. Livingstone, January 19, 1857, Outgoing Correspondence, John Murray Archive, MS41912, National Library of Scotland.

⁹ D. Livingstone to J. Murray, March 27, 1857, Incoming Correspondence, John Murray Archive, MS42420, National Library of Scotland.

¹⁰ Livingstone, *Missionary Travels* (Murray, 1857), v.

¹¹ Livingstone, *Missionary Travels*, (Murray, 1857), 1.

¹² D. Livingstone to J. Murray, April 29, 1857, Incoming Correspondence, John Murray Archive, MS42420, National Library of Scotland.

Livingstone was not always so happy to follow the advice of Murray's editorial staff, becoming increasingly anxious about the amount of influence others were allowed to exert over his manuscript. While he acknowledged his own shortcomings as an author, in his view the fact the Murray's advisors did not share the explorer's first-hand experience of the field rendered them only partially qualified to comment on his manuscript, particularly as it would be he and not they that would be called to account for the book's content after it left the publishing house. Livingstone became particularly vexed by the revisions offered by the reader Milton and complained to Murray that 'The liberties he has taken are most unwarrantable and I cannot really undertake to father them'.¹³ Livingstone reasoned that his 'letters written to the Geographical & Missionary societies [were] popular' so there was no basis to suspect that a narrative written in the same voice would not prove so. The corrections that the reviser encouraged amounted to nothing more than 'namby pambyism' in Livingstone's eyes and he encouraged Murray to get rid of him accordingly.¹⁴ The author complained that he had obtained favourable reviews from influential figures such as Roderick Murchison, Richard Owen of the Royal College of Surgeons and Whitwell Elwin, editor of Murray's own *Quarterly Review*. Livingstone reasoned therefore, that his narrative was 'more likely to be popular and saleable as it was than if diluted or emasculated as this man [Milton] has impudently presumed to do. It is therefore both to your advantage & mine that I reject in toto every change introduced in red ink'.¹⁵ The explorer was adamant that both his content and writing style did not deserve the criticism which it had been subjected to. He drew upon the recently published narrative of Elisha Kent Kane in his defence and argued that 'Many of the corrections already put in are not given in Kane's and my book will be read by persons in much the same position as to intelligence as the readers of his'.¹⁶ While Livingstone claimed that he did not wish to appear 'cantankerous or unreasonable or difficult to deal with', he was also unwilling to

¹³ D. Livingstone to J. Murray, May 30, 1857, Incoming Correspondence, John Murray Archive, MS42420, National Library of Scotland.

¹⁴ D. Livingstone to J. Murray, May 30, 1857, Incoming Correspondence, John Murray Archive, MS42420, National Library of Scotland.

¹⁵ D. Livingstone to J. Murray, May 31, 1857, Incoming Correspondence, John Murray Archive, MS42420, National Library of Scotland.

¹⁶ D. Livingstone to J. Murray, May 31, 1857, Incoming Correspondence, John Murray Archive, MS42420, National Library of Scotland.

‘succumb to make the work a mere primer’.¹⁷ He complained that the revisions were ‘quite abominable’ and went on to express his fear that ‘it will even now partake of too much of the penny primer character’, revealing that he was desperate that his work should not be made *too* popular and subsequently dismissed as mere entertainment.¹⁸ By entrusting subsequent revisions to Norton Shaw, editor of the Royal Geographical Society’s *Journal*, Livingstone could not only hope to garner support and insight from someone who had ‘some sympathy with African travel’ but who was also used to preparing publications for the same learned audience that Livingstone hoped to reach out to.¹⁹

Of course, Livingstone’s narrative was not the only task that required preparation and revision prior to the publication of a book of his travels. A title sheet, dedication, preface, appendix, two maps and a complete set of illustrations all had to be prepared, with work on these elements progressing alongside that on Livingstone’s own text (see Figure 2.3 for the preparation of the dedication). These elements were subject to as much negotiation and debate as the narrative text itself. For example although both maps were attributed to John Arrowsmith in the contents page, they were in fact the product of many hands. The first mapped Livingstone’s journey through the African continent while the second gave a more detailed view of the route taken between 1849 and 1856. Arrowsmith was expected to construct maps based on the figures recorded in Livingstone’s observation book; however, doubting the accuracy of some measurements, he suggested that the explorer might ‘suppress’ some of them.²⁰ Livingstone insisted that he did not ‘like any thing like “cooking”’ but nevertheless contacted Astronomer Royal Thomas Maclear and Henry Toynbee in the hope that they might make sense of the ‘mass of confusion’ within his notebook which he privately confessed was ‘in fact a history of my gropings in calculating my positions in the most simple humdrum manner’.²¹

That the maps which were drawn up by Arrowsmith were not based solely on Livingstone’s own calculations is also evident from the published maps themselves.

¹⁷ D. Livingstone to J. Murray, May 31, 1857, Incoming Correspondence, John Murray Archive, MS42420, National Library of Scotland.

¹⁸ D. Livingstone to J. Murray, May 31, 1857, Incoming Correspondence, John Murray Archive, MS42420, National Library of Scotland.

¹⁹ D. Livingstone to J. Murray, May 31, 1857 and June 3 1857, Incoming Correspondence, John Murray Archive, MS42420, National Library of Scotland.

²⁰ D. Livingstone to H. Toynbee, August 20, 1857, MS 7329/16, Wellcome Library.

²¹ D. Livingstone to H. Toynbee, August 22, 1857, MS 7329/17, Wellcome Library.

Like all European explorers in Africa, Livingstone had relied upon local expertise and testimony to gather topographical information, a fact which was acknowledged within one map with the inclusion of the following note:

Rivers, Outlines of Lakes, &c. delineated by uncontinuous lines, and also, Names written in hairline letters; shown generally the amount of Oral Geographical information which Dr Livingstone collected from intelligent Natives with whom he conversed during his travels across Africa.²²

Livingstone is here characterised as the expert able to interrogate witnesses and distinguish between reliable and unreliable information. This contributes to the overall effect which the maps, observation tables and other similar devices are designed to achieve, namely the authentication of Livingstone as scientific explorer.²³

While collaboration was essential to ensuring that Livingstone's narrative was both intellectually rigorous and commercially viable, it could also pose significant practical challenges for the publisher. Cantankerous authors were testing enough, but as the case of *Missionary Travels* illustrates, there were several other parties involved, notably cartographers, artists, publishers' readers and writing assistants. Upon finding that some advance subscribers had begun to withdraw their commitment to purchase the book on account of the long delay in publishing, Livingstone was eager to inform Murray that it was Arrowsmith and not he that was holding up the proceedings. As he remarked,

I hope if you are losing some subscribers you are getting others. No effort will be spared in getting on as quickly as I can I have given Arrowsmith everything - I get duplicates from Maclear and he said nothing about an occultation I expected. Arrowsmith might have the proofs from Kalai Eastward in addition he is famed for being late and blaming every body but himself for it.²⁴

Livingstone of course was responsible for his fair share of delays. The difficulties he had with composing his manuscript have already been alluded to but he also

²² J. Arrowsmith, 'A map of Dr Livingstone's route' in D. Livingstone, *Missionary Travels* (Murray, 1857).

²³ Wisnicki makes a similar argument. However, his discussion of what he terms 'strategies of authentication' is based solely on his reading of the published narrative and therefore fails to consider the extent to which individuals other than Livingstone shaped such features. A.S. Wisnicki, 'Intertitial cartographer: David Livingstone and the invention of South Central Africa', *Victorian Literature and Culture*, 37 (2009), 255-271.

²⁴ D. Livingstone to J. Murray, July 11, 1857, Incoming Correspondence, John Murray Archive, MS 42420, National Library of Scotland.

repeatedly sought outside counsel when he disagreed with Murray's advice, further holding up progress. For instance, he discussed the possibility of publishing the observations which had been the basis for his maps (and the subject of so much confusion) with Roderick Murchison, Thomas Maclear and Henry Toynbee. All three agreed that there would be interest in them and Murchison had suggested that the RGS would be willing to publish them.²⁵ However, Livingstone was concerned that this might detract from the value of his own book and so decided to encourage Murray to include them. Murray was less convinced, offering instead to print 250 copies that might be obtained separately by those who had an interest. Livingstone though was not keen to yield to his publisher's better judgement and sought advice once more from Toynbee: 'In these circumstances what is to be done. Shall we give them over to the Royal Geographical or Astronomical Society. I should like the Admiral's opinion: 12,000 [copies] is a serious expense though it would only be two sheets'.²⁶ In the end, a compromise was secured as Livingstone managed to convince Murray to include a table of longitude and latitudes at the end of the book, presenting a fuller discussion of his measurements in the *RGS Journal* instead.²⁷ This instance echoed many others involving debates over both the form and content of the book's paratexts and text and demonstrates not only how delays could occur as the character of such features was negotiated but also of the extent to which Livingstone was mindful of the need to balance Murray's understanding of the economics of book production with the expectations of the scientific community. For all the editorial work that went on to transform the explorer's notes and journals into a publishable product, it would, after all, be Livingstone alone that would be called to account for the book's content once it was published, a fact which he clearly recognised.

²⁵ D. Livingstone to H. Toynbee, August 20, 1857, MS 7329/17, Wellcome Library.

²⁶ D. Livingstone to H. Toynbee, [August 22-27, 1857], MS 7329/70, Wellcome Library.

²⁷ D. Livingstone to H. Toynbee, September 4, 1857, MS 7329/19, Wellcome Library. For more information on the formats adopted for subsequent editions of *Missionary Travels*, including a *Popular Account of Missionary Travels and Researches in South Africa* see L. Henderson, "Everyone will die laughing": John Murray and the Publication of David Livingstone's *Missionary Travels* *Livingstone Online*, January, 2009,

Notes and Queries 102 (1857),

483; *The Times*, (December 23, 1857), 15.

3.2 Missionary Travels in Britain: Challenges to Livingstone's Authority

When the much anticipated first edition of *Missionary Travels* (Figure 3.1) finally went on sale in Britain for one guinea, John Murray struggled to keep up with demand. The first printing of 12,000 copies sold out immediately. By mid-December, the publisher was using advertisements to inform the public that 25,000 copies had now been printed and to reassure those still searching for a volume that 'a fresh delivery of this work will be ready next week, when Copies may be obtained of every Bookseller in Town or Country'.²⁸ That there was a real demand behind these advertisements is clear from a letter sent from Livingstone to his publisher on Christmas Day, 1857:

Yesterday on passing through Manchester a friend of mine wishing to have my autograph in the copy of the book sent round the town & searched for it in vain. He got it at last by offering 2/6 to any boy who would procure it for him. I think it well to mention this and also that the new ones have not yet reached Glasgow.²⁹

The efforts of Murray and Murchison to create a demand for Livingstone's narrative in advance of its publication proved highly effective. However, the public appetite for knowledge of Livingstone's travels proved to be double-edged: a handful of rival authors and publishers attempted to exploit Livingstone's popularity and the delay between Livingstone's return to England and the appearance of the official narrative. As early as January 1857, for instance, Livingstone protested in *The Times* that the recently published *A Narrative of Livingstone's Discoveries in Central Africa from 1849 to 1856* (Figure 3.2) was entirely unauthorised despite the claim of publisher George Routledge that the work was accompanied by a map 'revised by himself'.³⁰

The explorer sought to convince the public that he had

certainly given no other person either the information or the authority to justify such an announcement as that of Messrs. Routledge and Co.; and assuredly no honest man would distort the fact of having pointed out on a faulty map my line of route to friends in private into "a map revised by himself."³¹

²⁸ *Notes and Queries* 102 (1857), 483; *The Times*, (December 23, 1857), 15.

²⁹ D. Livingstone to J. Murray, December 25, 1857, Incoming Correspondence, John Murray Archive, MS42420, National Library of Scotland.

³⁰ D. Livingstone, *The Times*, 22592, (January 31, 1857), 7.

³¹ D. Livingstone, *The Times*, 22592, (January 31, 1857), 7.

The preface of the Routledge volume revealed that what they called ‘the first authentic narrative of the important explorations of the Rev. Dr Livingstone’ had been compiled from a set of the explorer’s letters which had been leaked to the *British Banner* by Ebenezer Prout of the London Missionary Society.³² The same preface also contained an admission that the publishers were aware of Livingstone’s intention to author his own narrative. However, they did not see this as reason enough to abandon their own publication, commenting that ‘The world will accept gladly the further history upon which the great explorer is now engaged, and the public taste will, in the meantime, be stimulated by the pleasing and naturally recorded narrative here presented.’³³ Routledge thus tried to claim that they were assisting in establishing a market for Livingstone’s book and in so doing, helping the explorer ‘to advance the true interests of civilisation, science, commerce, and religion, in the vast interior of the great African continent’.³⁴ Livingstone, however, was concerned that this and other similar publications were damaging his reputation as readers took at face value their claims that they were endorsed by the explorer. On one occasion for instance, Livingstone complained to Murray, that

in the Times this morning the mistake is put on my shoulders and my friend Prout is no doubt ready to swear that corrected by myself is true. I having merely glanced at the newspaper thing & pointed out that it was all wrong about the Zambesi. After this "Save me from some of my friends".³⁵

Routledge was not alone in attempting to pre-empt Livingstone’s own narrative. Houlston and Wright, another London-based publishing house, published an account by Henry Gardiner Adams of *Dr Livingstone: His life and Adventures in the Interior of South Africa: Comprising a Description of the Regions which he Traversed; an Account of Missionary Pioneers; and Chapters on Cotton Cultivation, Slavery, Wild Animals, etc. etc* (Figure 3.2). Although Livingstone had no direct involvement with

³² Finding his personal correspondence in print encouraged Livingstone to think twice about how much information he would divulge in future. He explained to George Rough, former Lord Provost of Dundee, for instance, ‘that considering the unscrupulous use which has been made of my letters already it is still advisable to refrain from answering lists of questions’. D. Livingstone to G. Rough, April 15, 1857, David Livingstone Papers, MS 20312, National Library of Scotland.

³³ *A Narrative of Dr Livingstone’s Discoveries in South-Central Africa, From 1849 to 1856* (London: Routledge and Co., 1857), iii.

³⁴ *A Narrative of Dr Livingstone’s Discoveries in South-Central Africa, From 1849 to 1856* (London: Routledge and Co., 1857), iv.

³⁵ D. Livingstone to J. Murray, February 2, 1857, David Livingstone Collection, DL 2/15/1, Royal Geographical Society.

the work, Adams claimed in the preface that 'The extraordinary interest which is felt by the reading public of this country, as well as the whole civilised world, in the adventures and discoveries of Dr Livingstone, renders any apology for the appearance of the present volume altogether unnecessary'.³⁶ The author made the case that the public appetite for knowledge of Livingstone and his discoveries obliged those with information to present it to as wide an audience as possible. Adams supplemented the materials that had been released by Livingstone and his associates with 'other and independent sources, to give the narrative proper coherency, and to convey to the mind of the reader a clear impression of our traveller's labours and perils in the cause of Christian civilisation, and present to them a true picture of the wild regions he explored'.³⁷ It is noteworthy of course that Adams, a man with no apparent personal experience of African travel, deemed himself qualified to judge exactly what constituted 'a true picture'. Livingstone himself certainly did not appreciate Adams' account. On March 21, 1857, the *Athenaeum* carried a letter from the explorer complaining of 'the host of pirates' who had 'upon the strength of some few extracts from certain letters of mine, collected without my consent or knowledge, have published what they are pleased to call a 'Narrative of my Travels''.³⁸ Livingstone also drew attention to what he called the 'artful wording' of advertisements designed to suggest that such works had been sanctioned by himself with Adams' work in particular bearing the brunt of his dissatisfaction. He singled out one notice which claimed that 'Dr Livingstone's Life and Adventures have now assumed a tangible form' and that 'Mr H.G. Adams has been entrusted with the labour of love of seeing the good work through the press'.³⁹ Livingstone made it quite clear to the *Athenaeum*'s readers that he was acquainted with neither Adams nor his publishers. A week later the periodical published a response from Houston and Wright who professed that they were equally offended by the advertisement which Livingstone alluded to. The publishers explained that they had been enlisted to act as 'agents' by Henry Adams and that 'in accordance with a frequent practice in the trade as regards agency books, we took no charge

³⁶ H.G. Adams, *Dr Livingstone: His life and Adventures in the Interior of South Africa: Comprising a Description of the Regions which he Traversed; an Account of Missionary Pioneers; and Chapters on Cotton Cultivation, Slavery, Wild Animals, etc. etc.* (London: Houlston and Wright, 1857).

³⁷ Adams, *Dr Livingstone: His life and Adventures*, vii.

³⁸ D. Livingstone, *Athenaeum* 1534 (1857), 375.

³⁹ D. Livingstone, *Athenaeum* 1534 (1857), 375.

whatever either in drawing up or sending out advertisements'.⁴⁰ The advertisement which had prompted such outcry though remained unclaimed, with Adams also refuting that he was its source. The author, however, failed to see Livingstone's cause for complaint, highlighting that his own name appeared prominently on both title pages and argued therefore, that 'no one can be misled as to the authorship' (Figure 3.2, centre and right). Indeed Adams appeared to suggest that Livingstone's reaction had been excessive, asserting 'I regret that a few words in an advertisement, neither written nor issued by me, and which were withdrawn as soon as discovered capable of perversion, should have called forth Dr Livingston's remarks'.⁴¹ Livingstone though was convinced that he had been wronged, claiming that 'The denial of advertisements is instructive as even the authors of them start back from the deception practised when they see it presented to their own eyes in print in its naked deformity'.⁴² The fact that the work was composed of material already published did little to calm Livingstone either, who instead reasoned, 'The other parties are I think equally guilty for I was never asked whether I would permit my letters to be published in a collective form by either the "Banner" Snow - or the L.M. Society'.⁴³ To make matters worse, Prout, who had been responsible for supplying the *Banner* with Livingstone's letters, had assisted Adams in the preparation of his book. Such collusion, Livingstone's sister had reasoned, was 'a case of "Satan reproving sin"'.⁴⁴

By the time that *Missionary Travels* was published, readers had long had access to several different sources of information regarding Livingstone and his travels. These included the explorer's published letters, public lectures and the volumes outlined above. Murray and Livingstone attempted to distinguish their narrative from the others on offer by promoting its status as the only 'authentic account' based on the explorer's own journals, aware that other publishers were taking advantage of the unforeseen delay in publication.⁴⁵ Sales figures suggest that

⁴⁰ D. Livingstone, *Athenaeum* 1534 (1857), 407.

⁴¹ D. Livingstone, *Athenaeum* 1534 (1857), 407.

⁴² D. Livingstone to J. Murray, May 8, 1857, Incoming Correspondence, John Murray Archive, MS42420, National Library of Scotland.

⁴³ D. Livingstone to J. Murray, May 8, 1857, Incoming Correspondence, John Murray Archive, MS42420, National Library of Scotland.

⁴⁴ D. Livingstone to J. Murray, May 8, 1857, Incoming Correspondence, John Murray Archive, MS42420, National Library of Scotland.

⁴⁵ A draft of the preface for *Missionary Travels* included a ferocious attack on those responsible for rival accounts of Livingstone's travels. Livingstone decided to suppress it on account of its being 'too fiery'. The published version still tackled the issue, however, serving both to remind readers that this was an authorised account and also acting as a warning to those who might intend to plagiarise the

this tactic proved effective, as did promising that the work would be available shortly even before a draft manuscript was complete, as one reviewer confirms:

Those of our readers who have not seen Dr Livingstone's work, will doubtless be anxious to hear something of a book so full of interest. Long has "The Row" waited for it; month after month has its publication been postponed; but if we may judge by the extent of its sale (which has reached twenty thousand) this delay has acted rather as a stimulant than as a damper to the eager expectation alike of the commercial, the literary, the scientific and the Christian man.⁴⁶

Thus although rival accounts caused Livingstone and Murray much angst and were widely circulated themselves, they also served to publicise the authorised edition and the fact that *Missionary Travels* was widely lauded as the only 'authentic' account of Livingstone's journeys seemingly helped to ensure that the explorer's own account triumphed.⁴⁷

3.3 Missionary Travels in America: Battling 'Pirates' Abroad

Competition with Livingstone's narrative of his travels was not confined to Britain. In America, for example, there were several home-grown alternatives to the authorised edition. In the spring of 1857, while Livingstone battled with Routledge and Adams, another author, John Hartley Coombs, was also preparing his own account entitled *Dr Livingstone's 17 Years' Explorations and Adventures in the Wilds of Africa* (Figure 3.3).⁴⁸ Dated February 4, 1857, the editor's preface explained that 'It seldom happens that a traveller is unwilling to be the historian of his own adventures' yet Livingstone had, according to Coombs 'in the most unequivocal manner, expressed a determination not to give, at the present time, any written account of his African researches, from under his own hand'.⁴⁹ Echoing Routledge and Adams, Coombs revealed that he had felt obliged to fill this void and drew attention to Livingstone's 'utmost willingness to answer any inquiries relative to the incidents of his long and weary pilgrimage' as if to imply that this amounted to an

work in the future. D. Livingstone, 'Manuscript preface of *Missionary Travels*', John Murray Archive, MS 42427, National Library of Scotland.

⁴⁶ 'Dr Livingstone's travels', *Christian Observer Conducted by Members of the Established Church* 241 (1858), 48.

⁴⁷ 'Livingstone's missionary travels', *Gentleman's Magazine and Historical Review*, 3 (1857), 623.

⁴⁸ J.H. Coombs (ed.), *Dr Livingstone's 17 Years' Explorations and Adventures in the Wilds of Africa* (Philadelphia: J.T. Lloyd & Co., 1857).

⁴⁹ Coombs (ed.), *Dr Livingstone's 17 Years' Explorations and Adventures*, 4.

implicit endorsement of the venture.⁵⁰ Of Coombs himself though, we learn relatively little, for as the preface made clear, he did not 'feel under any obligation to declare what motives influenced him to undertake the task of collecting all the facts connected with Dr Livingstone's travels which could possibly be obtained from authentic sources'.⁵¹ Coombs was eager to impress upon his readers though that he would 'derive no pecuniary advantage whatever from the publication'.⁵² Thus, in keeping with his presentation as 'editor' rather than 'author' of the work, Coombs presented himself as someone charged with compiling and arranging material already in circulation so as to bring Livingstone's discoveries to as wide an audience as possible. The use of 'authentic sources', it appears, ought to confirm to readers that this too was an 'authoritative' and reliable production.

The extent to which the work circulated in Britain is unclear, although it was certainly compiled in London and with the British public in mind in the first instance. What is more certain though is the fact that the work found an audience across the Atlantic, appearing under the imprint of both J.T. Lloyd & Co. of Philadelphia and Bronson and Fobes of Chicago in 1857. If Lloyd's adverts are to be believed, the firm had received advance orders for 80,000 copies of the work which retailed at 50 cents for the paper edition and \$1.90 for the cloth bound edition. Those willing to sell the book on behalf of Lloyds could also make a substantial profit as the firm offered the book to agents at half its retail value. While we might question the credibility of such advertisements, as Finkelstein points out, 'typically, American editions were three or four times larger than British print-runs (which averaged 750-1,000 copies per impression), and prices a third or a quarter less'.⁵³

By the time Livingstone's own narrative made it into the American marketplace then, just as in Britain, there were already alternative and unauthorised accounts in circulation. It is likely that relatively few copies of *Murray's* costly edition of *Missionary Travels* made it across the Atlantic. The combination of the high retail price of books in England and tariffs imposed on imported works discouraged book buyers from importing large quantities of English books. This is not to say, however, that works by English authors did not feature prominently in the

⁵⁰ Coombs (ed.), *Dr Livingstone's 17 Years' Explorations and Adventures*, 4.

⁵¹ Coombs (ed.), *Dr Livingstone's 17 Years' Explorations and Adventures*, 5.

⁵² Coombs (ed.), *Dr Livingstone's 17 Years' Explorations and Adventures*, 5.

⁵³ D. Finkelstein, 'Globalization of the book, 1800-1970' in S. Eliot and J. Rose (eds.) *A Companion to the History of the Book* (Oxford: Blackwell, 2009), 331.

American book trade during the mid-nineteenth century. In fact American readers had long consumed British works. Prior to the 1820s, there was a large export market in books from Britain travelling to America. However, as Feather notes, during the 1820s, the economic base of the trade in books expanded as the American population grew and dispersed across the country encouraging the reprinting of British books in America as an alternative to importing editions published across the Atlantic.⁵⁴ Indeed in the ensuing decades reprints flooded the American market, depriving British authors and publishing houses of a valuable source of revenue. While some of the more established firms such as Carey and Lea of Philadelphia or Harper Brothers of New York made courtesy payments in order to compensate British authors, there was no legal obligation for an American firm to do so. Both America and Britain had enacted domestic copyright legislation, yet there was little legal protection to British authors beyond British soil. Of course those firms that did make agreements with British publishing houses would often be rewarded with first access to the sheets or stereotypes for the work they sought. Thus, as McVey notes, 'Publishers were more notable for cooperation than for pirating'.⁵⁵ Such cooperation was beneficial to both sides. In America, being the first to publish a sought-after British book carried obvious advantages while in Britain, such an agreement at least offered the author some form of compensation. Additionally, as Feather reasons though, by encouraging the exact reprinting of the British edition, these agreements helped to ensure that readers across the Atlantic encountered a work in the same form that was originally intended by its authors and publisher.⁵⁶

In 1838, the British Parliament had passed the International Copyright Act designed to 'afford protection ... to the Authors of Books first published in Foreign Countries, and their Assigns, in cases where Protection shall be afforded in such Foreign Countries to the Authors of Books first published in her Majesty's Dominions ...'.⁵⁷ Yet without any kind of reciprocal legislation in America, the Act could still not prevent American publishing houses producing their own rival reprints. And as much as British publishers protested about their piratical ways,

⁵⁴ J. Feather, *Publishing, Piracy and Politics: An Historical Study of Copyright in Britain* (London: Mansell, 1994), 150-51.

⁵⁵ S. McVey, 'Nineteenth century America: publishing in a developing country' *Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science*, 421(1975), 73.

⁵⁶ Feather, *Publishing, Piracy and Politics*, 153-4; A. Johns, *Piracy: The Intellectual Property Wars From Gutenberg to Google* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2010), 295-297.

⁵⁷ Feather, *Publishing, Piracy and Politics*, 157.

legally, they were not doing anything wrong. Attempts to enact some kind of international copyright agreement with the United States appeared increasingly futile and by the end of the 1840s, hope had all but been abandoned. However, this was not to say that the mass reprinting that had characterised the early decades of the century continued unabated. Indeed as Tebbel notes, many houses had suffered as rival firms flooded the market with cheap reprints, attempting to undercut one another. Publishers realised though that excessive competition was threatening the survival of the book trade and so by the 1850s, the trade in reprints had declined significantly.⁵⁸ Additionally, many of the country's reputable publishing houses showed a willingness to compensate British authors in return for access to advance sheets of their works. More importantly though, through 'courtesy trade agreements', the more respectable American houses agreed not to reprint a British work if another house had already produced an American edition.⁵⁹ Such agreements though depended on the good-will of individual publishing firms and still offered relatively little protection for foreign authors.

In the case of *Missionary Travels* it was Harper and Brothers, one of the longest-established and most reputable American publishing houses, which would secure access to the advance sheets of Livingstone's work, allowing the firm to ensure that the Harper and Murray editions appeared simultaneously (Figure 3.3). Harper and Brothers, established in 1819, had built up a reputation for producing such works with Joseph Henry Harper contending that 'their catalogue was where one naturally turned for books of travel and exploration' in this period.⁶⁰ Certainly the firm were willing to pay a high price to ensure that they would be the first to introduce the American public to Livingstone's narrative, with the company's records revealing that Livingstone received £200 in return for the advance sheets.⁶¹

With no formal Anglo-American copyright agreement, of course, such an outlay could easily be recouped so long as less scrupulous rival publishing houses did not attempt to undermine their sales by producing their own reprints of the work once it was readily available in the marketplace. While 'courtesy agreements'

⁵⁸ J. Tebbel, *A History of Book Publishing in the United States. Volume 1: The Creation of an Industry, 1630-1865* (New York and London: R.R. Bower, 1942).

⁵⁹ S. McVey, 'Nineteenth century America: publishing in a developing country', 73; Feather, *Publishing, Piracy and Politics*, 160.

⁶⁰ J.H. Harper, *The House of Harper: A Century of Publishing in Franklin Square* (New York and London: Harper and Brothers, 1912), 246.

⁶¹ Priority List, 35, Archives of Harper and Brothers, Reel 22, British Library.

generally ensured that reprinting was kept to a minimum in this period, from the perspective of smaller firms without hard-fought after reputations to defend, there was still much to gain from issuing their own editions of English works already in circulation. Certainly J.W. Bradley showed little professional courtesy to either Harper or Murray, producing its own edition of *Livingstone's Travels and Researches in South Africa* (Figure 3.3). Although more of an abridgement than an exact reprint, the Bradley edition could easily be confused with that offered by Harper. The title pages of both works were similarly arranged, displaying almost identical titles followed by Livingstone's name and credentials as well as a prominent picture of a magnified tsetse fly. Indeed the only notable difference between the two pages, besides the imprint, was that the Bradley edition indicated that it was 'from the personal narrative of David Livingstone' rather than simply being *by* the explorer. Moreover, 'a historical sketch of discoveries in Africa' was also added to that narrative offered in the Bradley volume. At first glance, though there was little to differentiate the volumes and it would surely have been difficult for a reader coming across both for the first time to identify which edition had Livingstone's authorisation and which did not. The fact that Bradley presented themselves as 'the American publisher' also served to suggest that their edition was that which had been sanctioned for circulation on that side of the Atlantic. By comparison, as Harper had simply let Livingstone's own preface introduce the volume rather than adding their own 'publisher's preface' some readers could be forgiven for thinking that this edition was simply an unauthorised reprint.

Apparently aware of the potential for such confusion, Harper began inserting notices into other works on their books warning potential readers of the presence of 'several spurious editions' in the marketplace.⁶² Using language almost identical to that used by Livingstone and Murray in their attacks on Routledge, Adams and Houlston and Wright, these notices criticised the 'artful advertisements' which were being used to suggest that Livingstone had authorised the production of the rival works.⁶³ Moreover, the publishers informed readers that 'Dr Livingstone repudiates them entirely, and wishes it to be generally known that the present work is the *only*

⁶² E.g. Harper & Brothers, 'Dr Livingstone's Travels' in C.C.B. Seymour, *Self-Made Men* (New York: Harper & Brothers, 1858), 595.

⁶³ Harper & Brothers, 'Dr Livingstone's Travels' in C.C.B. Seymour, *Self-Made Men* (New York: Harper & Brothers, 1858), 595.

authentic narrative of his Adventures and Travels in Africa.⁶⁴ The publishers though were eager to communicate that their own edition was not only authoritative but also highly regarded by the critics. Thus the notice contained short extracts from reviews which had appeared in influential publications such as the *Boston Post*, the *New York Observer*, the *N.Y. Courier and Enquirer* as well as the *Athenaeum*. While we will return to the reception of the work later in this chapter, it is worth noting that the particular extracts that Harper chose to advertise the book tended to emphasise its wide appeal and accessibility. For instance, the *Literary Gazette*'s readers were told that the text 'addresses itself to large and numerous classes – the great religious world, the commercial world, the scientific'.⁶⁵ Similarly, the *Boston Post* was quoted as remarking that the work was 'At once scientific, literary, and religious, it deserves to be read and studied by *all* classes'.⁶⁶ Meanwhile the *N.Y. Commercial Advertiser* commended the 'remarkable narrative, distinguished throughout by the modest character of true merit. Clear, concise, unaffected, and fluent, it charms the reader, and bears him along irresistibly, securing his attention from first to last'.⁶⁷ That Harper chose to celebrate these facets of the work over others is noteworthy in light of the claims made by Bradley in their edition of *Livingstone's Travels and Researches*.

While their own preface acknowledged that Livingstone's 'personal narrative is the most important and interesting of all that have yet been published' and asserted that it would 'prove the most influential on future discovery',⁶⁸ the Bradley volume nevertheless claimed that 'by omitting a considerable amount of scientific matter and minor details' its publishers had constructed a work 'more acceptable to the general reader'.⁶⁹ While Livingstone's contribution to the fields of geology, meteorology, zoology and geography were praised, these were deemed to be of particular interest to 'scientific inquirers' only. Thus, Harper's adverts in emphasising that *all* readers

⁶⁴ Harper & Brothers, 'Dr Livingstone's Travels' in C.C.B. Seymour, *Self-Made Men* (New York: Harper & Brothers, 1858), 595.

⁶⁵ Harper & Brothers, 'Dr Livingstone's Travels' in C.C.B. Seymour, *Self-Made Men* (New York: Harper & Brothers, 1858), 595 (emphasis in original).

⁶⁶ Harper & Brothers, 'Dr Livingstone's Travels' in C.C.B. Seymour, *Self-Made Men* (New York: Harper & Brothers, 1858), 595.

⁶⁷ Harper & Brothers, 'Dr Livingstone's Travels' in C.C.B. Seymour, *Self-Made Men* (New York: Harper & Brothers, 1858), 595.

⁶⁸ E.g. Harper & Brothers, 'Dr Livingstone's Travels' in C.C.B. Seymour, *Self-Made Men* (New York: Harper & Brothers, 1858), 595.

⁶⁹ J.W. Bradley, 'Preface of the American publisher' in D. Livingstone, *Livingstone's Travels and Researches in South Africa* (Philadelphia: J.W. Bradley, 1858), vi.

would find the volume both interesting and accessible, attempted to undermine Bradley's claim that their own abridged version was uniquely suited to a general reading audience.

Bradley launched their own counter-attack on Harper, inserting a double-page spread of 'Notices of the Press' into several of their own works. Unable to claim that their edition had the author's own stamp of approval, Bradley instead let 'respected journals of the country' make their case for them. The periodical extracts they chose to advertise their volume though praised several different aspects of the work. Some, for instance, focused upon the material qualities of the book, with the *United States Journal* commenting 'The work is finely illustrated, well-printed, and firmly bound thus answering in every respect, the demand for a popular and a cheap edition'.⁷⁰ The reviewer distinguished between 'popular' works and those that were 'cheap'; it was not simply the case that this version of Livingstone's narrative should be widely read because it was inexpensive, the reviewer suggested, but rather its popularity was connected directly to the work's content. The *Daily Democrat's* reviewer also praised the fact that the publishers had rendered the work affordable for a wide range of classes 'by leaving out a mass of dry scientific details, which are only of use to a very small class of the community, and which actually make the narrative department, now so extremely charming, tiresome and uninteresting'.⁷¹ Thus, the reviewer was happy to accept the publisher's assessment of which parts of Livingstone's narrative were most important, despite the fact that Livingstone himself believed that he alone ought to be allowed to tell his story. Rather than fundamentally altering Livingstone's narrative, the reviewer suggested that the publisher had in fact done something of a public service. Although the *Temperance Monitor* did allude to the controversy that had surrounded the publication, the reviewer suggested that any complaints directed towards Bradley had been inspired by economic motives:

⁷⁰ J.W. Bradley, 'Notices of the press' in D. Livingstone, *Livingstone's Travels and Researches in South Africa* (Philadelphia: J.W. Bradley, 1858), ii.

⁷¹ J.W. Bradley, 'Notices of the press' in D. Livingstone, *Livingstone's Travels and Researches in South Africa* (Philadelphia: J.W. Bradley, 1858), i.

That this work *is* a work of merit, is proved by the war waged upon it by the various publishers, who have raised the cry of "*spurious edition*," hoping this false alarm would draw off the public from the cheap edition of J.W. Bradley, of Philadelphia; but we rather guess that those who want to obtain this excellent work know their own interests well enough to get not only the *cheapest* edition yet published, but at the same time get all the important facts of the narrative, which, in the English edition, is sold for six dollars.⁷²

Thus, the reviewer also upheld the general consensus that nothing of value had been lost when Bradley decided to omit 'incidental details and scientific matter'.⁷³

These reviews serve to highlight that even though Bradley's volume was not endorsed by Livingstone, it was nevertheless deemed worthy of review by several American publications. This suggests that the appetite for knowledge of the explorer's discoveries extended far beyond Britain and was such that readers were necessarily concerned by whether particular editions were authorised by Livingstone himself. In Britain, John Murray as well as Livingstone had taken to the periodical press to argue that only a narrative directly endorsed by the explorer himself should be considered authoritative: in America, however, it was left to Harper to defend the value of Livingstone's work. The American publishers had everything to gain by continuing to promote the assertion that any work produced without the explorer's explicit involvement was inherently inferior. By contrast, both Coombs and Bradley adopted a different tactic contending that their respective works were valuable because they were accessible to a wide audience, both because they presented a version of events which was inexpensive and easily understood but also because although they were based on other sources which Livingstone himself had endorsed. Bradley enjoyed considerable success with their own narrative with the edition being reprinted in 1858, 1859 and 1860. Although Harper would still go on to sell 'nearly thirty thousand copies ... at three dollars per copy' the firm's official history revealed that Bradley's abridgement had interfered considerably with the authorised edition.⁷⁴ Thus in America as in Britain, Livingstone was not the master of his own story.

⁷² J.W. Bradley, 'Notices of the press' in D. Livingstone, *Livingstone's Travels and Researches in South Africa* (Philadelphia: J.W. Bradley, 1858), ii (emphasis in original).

⁷³ J.W. Bradley, 'Preface of the American publisher' in D. Livingstone, *Livingstone's Travels and Researches in South Africa* (Philadelphia: J.W. Bradley, 1858), vi.

⁷⁴ C. Livingstone to D. Livingstone, February 10, 1865, John Murray Archive, MS 42422-23, National Library of Scotland; Harper, *The House of Harper*, 246

3.4 Missionary Travels in Europe: Reserving the Right of Translation

The appetite for knowledge associated with African exploration in general and David Livingstone in particular was not only confined to the Anglophone world. Like many contemporary English-language travel narratives, *Missionary Travels* was translated into several European languages soon after its publication.⁷⁵ Although these translations have hitherto received little scholarly attention, they provide another route to examining the relationship between authorship and authority for, as Rupke writes,

Translators relocate books, taking these away from the intellectual control of authors, repossessing the texts, possibly in the service of very different purposes than those for which they were originally intended. Such alterations of meaning can be effected by new, additional prefaces, by footnote commentary, by other additions such as illustrations, by omissions, and most fundamentally, by the very act of cultural relocation.⁷⁶

Translation then regularly involves transformation, not only of textual meaning but of the physical construction of books as printed objects. Translators therefore must be considered alongside publishers, editors, authors, readers and reviewers when we consider how knowledge is made and remade as print travels.

Within the confines of this chapter the discussion of the translations of *Missionary Travels* must necessarily be limited to a select number of exemplars: Livingstone's text was published in several French, German, Danish and Swedish editions before the end of the 1850s, all of which deserve significant study in their own right. In what follows, French and German renditions of Livingstone's narrative are considered, in order to explore what happened to Livingstone's authority as his narrative was repackaged in different cultural contexts. Although the Murray archive itself reveals relatively little about the negotiations which lead to the production of authorised French and German-language editions, examining the legal frameworks supposed to govern the international trade in books in conjunction with the translated editions themselves can tell us much about the wider circulation of Livingstone's narrative.

⁷⁵ The accounts of several nineteenth-century European travellers were also translated into English, the most prominent of which being Heinrich Barth's five volume *Travels and Discoveries in North and Central Africa* (London: Longman, Brown, Green, Longmans and Roberts, 1857-1858) (also published in 3 volumes by Harper and Brothers of New York, 1857-1859).

⁷⁶ N. Rupke, 'Translation studies in the history of science: the example of *Vestiges*', *British Journal for the History of Science*, 33 (2000), 210.

While the passing of the 1838 Copyright Law had failed to bring about a reciprocal copyright agreement between Britain and America, it proved more effective in establishing bilateral agreements with individual European states. Together with the amendments made in 1844, which included the extension of protection to works produced in the whole of the British Empire, this legislation provided the basis for a series of agreements between Britain and the German states, the first of which being signed with Prussia in 1846.⁷⁷ A series of other agreements followed between different European powers until, as Feather explains, 'there was gradually developing a network of reciprocal copyright protection which covered much of Europe'.⁷⁸ In 1851, an Anglo-French treaty was finally secured after a compromise was reached over translated works. This legislation protected authors against unauthorised translations providing strict conditions were met.⁷⁹ Firstly, the title page of the original work had to indicate, as *Missionary Travels* did, that the right of translation had been reserved. Additionally, to secure protection, works had to be registered both in Stationers' Hall in London and at the Bureau de la Librairie at the Ministry of the Interior in Paris within three months of publication.⁸⁰ There were restrictions too upon the time frame in which a protected translation could be published, with part of the translation having to appear within a year and the whole not more than three years since publication.⁸¹ With its attention to translations, the 1851 Anglo-French agreement prompted an alteration to domestic law and in 1855, the Anglo-Prussian agreement was also amended to afford works produced in the German state the same protection.⁸² Nonetheless, while this legislation was designed to curb the trade in unauthorised translations there remained a band of 'enterprising' foreign publishers who would seek to provide what we might call indirect translations or abridged accounts for non-English speakers.

⁷⁷ Feather, *Publishing, Piracy and Politics*, 160.

⁷⁸ Feather, *Publishing, Piracy and Politics*, 160.

⁷⁹ C. Seville, *The Internationalisation of Copyright Law: Books, Buccaneers and the Black Flag in the Nineteenth Century* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2006), 51-52.

⁸⁰ Feather, *Publishing, Piracy and Politics*, 161.

⁸¹ Seville, *The Internationalisation of Copyright Law*, 51-52.

⁸² Seville, *The Internationalisation of Copyright Law*, 51-52.

German-Language Editions

Numerous publishers were keen to take advantage of the avid appetite for translated travelogues among German speakers. During the nineteenth century, as Tautz notes, translated accounts of travel were an important source of 'geographical, mercantile, and scientific knowledge of the world' not least because the 'German principalities ... rarely participated in the colonial undertakings of their European neighbours'.⁸³ The demand for German-language travel literature remained high throughout the nineteenth century although the preferred style of travel-writing changed over time. For as Sidorko's work on German accounts of Balkan travel highlights, nineteenth-century writers were influenced by Humboldt and thus 'combined natural scientific observations with ethnological, archaeological and linguistic insights'. More generally, as time went on, 'purely scientific reports were gradually replaced by journalistic accounts'.⁸⁴ As in Britain and America then, there was a growing market for narrative accounts of daring exploration.

Leipzig publisher Hermann Costenoble negotiated an agreement with Murray in April 1858 which gave him the 'exclusive right of translation into German' along with a set of clichés [printing blocks] for the 45 woodcuts which would appear in his edition of *Missionary Travels* in exchange for £100.⁸⁵ This sum was paid entirely to Livingstone as Murray had agreed to surrender all profits from foreign editions to the explorer. Indeed as Murray put it to Costenoble, he acted only as the 'Friend of Dr Livingstone' in brokering the deal.⁸⁶ However, Murray appeared less than friendly subsequently when a disagreement over the registration of copyright arose. Although the exact cause of the dispute is unclear, less than a month after Costenoble was granted the right of translation, Murray warned him that he had obtained 'from Leipzig, full evidence of the full & exact registration of Dr Livingstone's Copyright in Saxony' and complained that 'under the circumstances your proceedings have not been creditable & I warn you that in the event of any infringement by you of Dr

⁸³ B. Tautz, 'Cutting, pasting, fabricating: late 18th-century travelogues and their German translators between legitimacy and imaginary nations', *German Quarterly*, 79 (2006), 170.

⁸⁴ C.P. Sidorko, 'Nineteenth-century German travelogues as sources on the history of Daghestan and Chechnya', *Central Asia Survey*, 31 (2002), 284; S. Stark, 'Translating the foreign gaze', in *"Behind Inverted Commas" Translation and Anglo-German Cultural Relations in the Nineteenth Century*, (Clevedon: Multilingual Matters Ltd, 1999), 143-173. On Humboldt specifically, see N. Rupke, *Alexander von Humboldt: A Metabiography* (Chicago: Chicago University Press, 2007).

⁸⁵ J. Murray to H. Costenoble, April 27, 1858, John Murray Archive, MS 41912, National Library of Scotland.

⁸⁶ J. Murray to H. Costenoble, April 27, 1858, John Murray Archive, MS 41912, National Library of Scotland.

Livingstone's rights, I shall take legal measurements to obtain justice'.⁸⁷ It is not surprising to find that Murray fiercely defended his author for as he later explained, he believed that 'An author's book is like a weaver's web – if you let foreign pirates take his property with the same justice you might cut off so many inches from the weaver's broadcloth on its way to market' and 'To stop a pirated copy therefore is no more then to arrest a pickpocket'.⁸⁸

Irrespective of this disagreement, however, Costenoble did go on to publish a two-volume translation of Livingstone's narrative titled *Missionsreisen und Forschungen in Süd-Afrika während eines sechzehnjährigen Aufenthalts im Innern des Continents* (Figure 3.4).⁸⁹ Philosopher and psychologist Hermann Lotze, who had already prepared an edition of Charles J. Andersson's *Lake Ngami or, Explorations and Discoveries During Four Years' Wanderings in the Wilds of Southwestern Africa*, for the German market undertook the translation.⁹⁰ Echoing Rupke's earlier assertion that it is not only the text that is transformed in the process of translation, several paratextual features were altered, repositioned or omitted in the preparation of this new edition. The title page for instance dispensed with Livingstone's affiliations and the image of the tsetse fly which was used to emphasise the scientific quality of the work. Similarly the dedication which highlighted Livingstone's personal connection to Roderick Murchison was also removed. The preface had allowed Livingstone to directly address questions of authorship and authenticity in ways entirely conventional in English exploration narratives, apologising for his failings as an author but at the same time indirectly claiming that the unpolished character of his narrative was testament to its veracity. In his role as translator, though, Lotze assumed responsibility for the literary value of the new text having been employed to render Livingstone's narrative accessible to a particular audience. While he retained the introduction in which the explorer reminded readers of his humble background and famously claimed that he would rather walk across Africa again than write another book, Livingstone's more

⁸⁷ J. Murray to H. Costenoble, May 25, 1858, John Murray Archive, MS 41913, National Library of Scotland.

⁸⁸ J. Murray to W.E. Gladstone, February 28, 1860, John Murray Archive, MS 41913, National Library of Scotland

⁸⁹ D. Livingstone, *Missionsreisen und Forschungen in Süd-Afrika während eines sechzehnjährigen Aufenthalts im Innern des Continents* [Missionary Travels and Researches during a Sixteen-Year Residence in the Interior of the Continent] H. Lotze (trans.), 2 vols. (Leipzig: Costenoble, 1858).

⁹⁰ C.J. Andersson, *Reisen in Südwest-Afrika bis zum See Ngami in den Jahren 1850-1854*, H. Lotze (trans.) 2 vols (Leipzig: H. Costenoble, 1858).

personal preface was relocated to a less prominent position in the second volume. While translation offered Lotze the opportunity to stamp his own authority upon Livingstone's text, he also had to ensure that it remained convincing as an 'authentic' account. Hence the importance of the prominent declaration on the title page that this was an 'Autorisierte, vollständig Ausgabe für Deutschland [Authoritative and complete edition for Germany]', a fact which Costenoble's advertisements also always emphasised.

However, holding the exclusive right of German translation did not mean that Costenoble's edition circulated without competition. In 1859, a fellow Leipzig publisher Otto Spamer produced a volume dedicated to *Livingstone, der Missionär*. Bearing the full title *Erforschungsreisen im Innern Afrikas. In Schilderungen der bekanntesten älteren und neueren Reisen insbesondere der großen Entdeckungen im südlichen Afrika während der Jahre 1840 – 1856 durch Dr David Livingstone* (Figure 3.4), this work was not an attempt at a direct translation but rather offered its readers an overview of African exploration to date, before focussing on Livingstone's adventures in particular.⁹¹ Nevertheless, such works may have proved more appealing to some German readers than Costenoble's authorised translation. For one reason, this book ran to only 296 pages making it considerably shorter than Costenoble's two-volume tome. While there was less text, the work was heavily illustrated with ninety-two in-text illustrations, seven full-page illustrations and map of Africa. The obligatory portrait was also present. While the illustrations were clearly based on those that had appeared in Costenoble's edition (and Murray's previously), those responsible for Spamer's, as well being arguably less skilled than the original craftsmen, had also taken it upon themselves to alter the images.

This is clear in the case of image that originally appeared under the title 'Lake Ngami, discovered by Oswell, Murray, and Livingstone'. Rather than depicting the moment the three men 'discovered' the lake in 1849, as the title suggests it ought to, the engraving actually shows Livingstone admiring the lake with his wife and children while an African servant brews tea in the foreground. The image was constructed by combining portraits of Livingstone and his family with the

⁹¹ *Erforschungsreisen im Innern Afrikas. In Schilderungen der bekanntesten älteren und neueren Reisen insbesondere der großen Entdeckungen im südlichen Afrika während der Jahre 1840 – 1856 durch Dr David Livingstone* [Researches in Central Africa and descriptions of the most famous ancient and modern travel, in particular the great discoveries in Southern Africa during the years 1840 – 1856 by Dr David Livingstone] (Leipzig: O. Spamer, 1859)

artist Alfred Ryder's drawing of the lake, made in 1850. While Livingstone had indeed returned to the lake that year, the scene that he described in his letters and journals differed markedly from that shown in the book. In reality both the pregnant Mary Livingstone and the explorer's children were constantly ill: yet, as Tim Barringer notes, 'In *'Lake Ngami'* the archetypal roles of the Victorian middle-class household are enacted: Livingstone, the paterfamilias, is at the top of a pyramid comprising his wife, children, servants and possessions. Mary Livingstone is seen enacting the stereotypical role of "Angel in the house", caring for the young and the sick'.⁹² However, in the version of this scene in Spamer's book, Livingstone, is depicted by his children's side beckoning instructively towards the Lake, rather than standing protectively over his wife's shoulder (Figure 3.5). Similarly, Mary Livingstone now stood watching over the black servant brewing tea in the centre of the picture. While such changes were relatively subtle we should consider the implications of and reasoning behind such alterations. The fact that the images were plausibly similar, although not identical, to those appearing in Costenoble's edition, may have served to convince readers that they would not miss out consulting the shorter, cheaper, version provided by Otto Spamer. Certainly several reviewers pointed out that while the book might be specifically aimed at younger readers, there was much to recommend it to the public at large.⁹³

Costenoble, though, claimed that Spamer's book was the product of plagiarism, prompting a public dispute which gave rise to Spamer publishing advertisements comparing his firm's book with the 'so-called authorised translation' of his rival. In these advertisements Spamer claimed that he would not personally engage in a debate over the value of either work but would instead leave the matter to two geographical authorities.⁹⁴ A review in Petermann's *Mittheilungen*, the most influential German geographical periodical of the period, was quoted as a means of

⁹² T. Barringer, 'Fabricating Africa: Livingstone and the visual image 1850-1874' in J.M. McKenzie (ed.) *David Livingstone and the Victorian Encounter with Africa* (London: National Portrait Gallery, 1996), 179.

⁹³ 'Livingstone's Reisen in deutschem Gewände', *Magazin für die Literatur des Auslandes* 56 (1859), 52; 'Literatur. Erforschungsreisen in Innern Afrikas [Review]', *Berliner Revue* 16 (1859), 172.

⁹⁴ Spamer produced the following pamphlet in order to respond to charges that he had plagiarised Livingstone's narrative: *Vehme oder Justiz? Appellation an die öffentliche Meinung im Betreff eines Gutachtens des Leipziger Sachverständigen-Vereins I. Section vom 10. November 1858, wodurch dieselbe den Inhalt des angeklagten Buchs: "Livingstone, der Missionär" etc. für gesetzmässig erklärt und dennoch dessen Verleger auf's empfindlichste an der Ehre kränkt, eine Streitschrift zu seiner Rechtfertigung und im Interesse des gesammten deutschen Buchhandels geschrieben von Otto Spamer.* (Leipzig, 1859) [Not seen].

demonstrating the worth of his account for public education and entertainment. What Spamer failed to reveal, however, was that these comments appeared within a longer review which concentrated to a larger degree on Costenoble's edition.⁹⁵ The reviewer had much praise for the authorised translation, commending its high standard in the light of Livingstone's own peculiar style of writing and its value as the only complete German version of Livingstone's narrative. In his own comments on Costenoble, Spamer quoted the *Berliner Zeitschrift für Erdkunde* which was rather less positive about the worth of the translation. This reviewer suggested that since English was the common language of geographers, it was not so much a direct translation that was required but more a volume which reorganised and clarified the contents of the original for the wider reading public, something which Lotze's volume failed to do. Although Spamer did not reproduce them in the advertisement, the publisher also alluded to a list of 'ridiculous and incomprehensible' translations which the reviewer had highlighted in the full article.⁹⁶ Through the selective use of periodical reviews, Spamer thus attempted to convince potential readers that Costenoble's 'authorised' version was not necessarily more instructive than his own 'independent' work. What this episode highlights is that Livingstone's authority over his narrative was further challenged in the German context both because of issues inherent in translation and because of the failure of copyright legislation to deter the publication of rival versions of the same narrative.

French-Language Editions

The circulation of *Missionary Travels* in French-language editions further testifies to the significance of the transnational market for narratives of travel and exploration. Publisher Louis Hachette, one of France's largest publishing houses at this time,⁹⁷ began negotiating terms for the production of a French translation of *Missionary*

⁹⁵ 'Literatur', *Mittheilungen aus Justus Perthes' Geographischer Anstalt über wichtige neue erforschungen auf des Gesamtgebiete der Geographie von Dr A. Petermann*, (1858), 562.

⁹⁶ 'Livingstone. Erforschungsreisen in Afrika, unser "Buch der Reisen", II Band' in *Erforschungsreisen in Innern Afrika's in Schilderungen der bekanntesten älteren und neueren Reisen insbesondere der großen Entdeckungen im südlichen Afrika während der Jahre 1840 – 1856 durch Dr David Livingstone* (Leipzig: O. Spamer, 1860), n.p.

⁹⁷ Hachette was a principal supplier of school textbooks and also owned an extensive network of railway bookstalls which followed the example set by the English company W.H. Smith. On Hachette, see C. Haynes, 'Louise Hachette and the defense of the publisher' in *Lost Illusions: the Politics of Publishing in Nineteenth-Century France*, (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2010), 154-186; E.S. DeMarco, *Reading and Riding: Hachette's Railroad Bookstore Network in Nineteenth-Century France*, (Cranbury NJ: Associated University Presses, 2010).

Travels before the English edition had appeared, although it would be 1859 before *Explorations dans l'intérieur de l'Afrique australe* would appear in print (Figure 3.6).⁹⁸ Hachette's translated edition was published as a single volume and, in fulfilment of copyright regulations, indicated on its title page that it had been 'ouvrage traduit de l'anglais avec l'autorisation de l'auteur' [translated from English with the author's permission].⁹⁹ The translator was identified as Henriette Loreau, who was responsible for translating a number of well known works into French for Hachette, including travel books. In 1862, for instance, she was responsible for Richard F. Burton's *Voyage aux grand lacs de l'Afrique orientale*,¹⁰⁰ and in 1866, David and Charles Livingstone's *Explorations du Zambèse et de ses affluents*.¹⁰¹ Periodical reviewers regularly singled out Loreau for specific praise before going on to applaud Livingstone's merits as an explorer. Charles-Louis Chassin told readers of the *Revue de l'Instruction Publique de la Littérature et des Sciences*, for instance, that the French edition was beautifully printed and illustrated and would be a work of lasting value, being consulted often by those interested in geography, natural and human history while the fidelity and clarity of Loreau's translation was specifically praised.¹⁰² Similarly, the *Bibliothèque Universelle Revue Suisse et Etrangère* claimed that Loreau had successfully conveyed Livingstone's unique style of writing combining perfect simplicity with a remarkable talent for description. The result, the reviewer claimed, was a popular book which would be sought after by all ages and class of readers.¹⁰³ *La Tour du Monde's* review, though, did not discuss the merits of the translation in relation to the Murray volume, instead providing bibliographic details for both English and French editions before noting that Livingstone's narrative had now sold 50,000 copies across both countries,

⁹⁸ L. Hachette to J. Murray, October 5, 1857, John Murray Archive, MS40500, National Library of Scotland.

⁹⁹ D. Livingstone, *Explorations dans l'intérieur de l'Afrique australe*, H. Loreau (trans.) (Paris: Hachette, 1859).

¹⁰⁰ R.F. Burton, *Voyage aux grand lacs de l'Afrique orientale*, H. Loreau (trans.) (Paris: Hachette, 1862), Originally published in English as *The Lake Regions of Central Africa*, (London: Longman, Green, Longman and Roberts, 1860).

¹⁰¹ D. Livingstone and C. Livingstone, *Explorations du Zambèse et de ses affluents*, H. Loreau (trans.) (Paris: Hachette, 1866) Originally published in English as *Narrative of an Expedition to the Zambesi and its Tributaries; and of the Discovery of the Lakes Shirwa and Nyassa, 1858-1864* (London: John Murray, 1865).

¹⁰² C.L. Chassin, 'Explorations dans l'Interior de l'Afrique australe [Review]', *Revue de l'Instruction Publique de la Littérature et des Sciences*, 43 (1869), 677.

¹⁰³ 'Bulletin littéraire et bibliographique. France', *Bibliothèque Universelle Revue Suisse et Etrangère*, 5 (1859), 148.

further emphasising that the interest in Livingstone's narrative went far beyond his native country.¹⁰⁴

As elsewhere, this interest would give rise to rival accounts often aimed at children or other readers who might find the authorised volumes inaccessible. Author Henry Paumier, for instance, took advantage of the time between the appearance of the English and French editions to construct *L'Afrique ouverte ou une esquisse des découvertes du Dr Livingstone* (Figure 3.6). The book was published in 1858 by Meyrueis and included within the *Nouvelle bibliothèque des familles*. At only 132 pages long and heavily illustrated it was aimed primarily at younger readers and at only 1 franc, it was more accessible than Hachette's volume. Although not a direct translation, Paumier's book clearly drew heavily upon that published by Murray. It began by recounting Livingstone's humble upbringings before summarising his African adventures which were illustrated by a fold-out map and several images based around those in the authorised English edition. One such illustration was that recreating Loandan hairstyles. Livingstone had discussed and illustrated these in *Missionary Travels* and Paumier too included illustrations which were strikingly similar despite the fact that his text only made fleeting mention of the topic (Figure 3.7).¹⁰⁵ That Paumier dispensed with much of the scientific detail offered by Livingstone in his original text may have reflected the readership he had in mind. Indeed although not reviewed as widely as Hachette's, his book was received favourably in a number of publications, precisely because it summarised what were perceived to be the most interesting (i.e. adventurous) elements of *Missionary Travels*.¹⁰⁶ Although there is no evidence to suggest that Paumier's volume sparked the same controversy that similar English and German works did, this case reinforces the earlier claim that in practice, Livingstone and Murray could not retain absolute control over either the text or the illustrations within *Missionary Travels* or its authorised translations once they were in the wider marketplace.

¹⁰⁴ 'Nouvelle découvertes du docteur Livingstone', *Le Tour du Monde Nouvelle Journal des Voyages*, 1 (1860), 62.

¹⁰⁵ H. Paumier, *L'Afrique ouverte ou une esquisse des découvertes du Dr Livingstone* [Africa Opened or, a Sketch of the Discoveries of Doctor Livingstone], (Paris: Ch Meyrueis et Cie, 1858), 108-109; D. Livingstone, *Missionary Travels*, (Murray, 1857), 450-451.

¹⁰⁶ 'L'Afrique ouverte [Review]', *Revue Critique des Livres Nouveaux*, 27 (1859), 118-119; 'Bulletin littéraire et bibliographique. France', *Bibliothèque Universelle Revue Suisse et Etrangère*, 7 (1860), 326-327.

3.5 Reviewing *Missionary Travels*

This chapter has so far highlighted the tension that existed between the need to produce commercially appealing accounts of travel and the expectation that such volumes should be written by explorers themselves, resulting in collaborative practices of authorship which were widespread through usually unacknowledged in print. Examining the circulation of Livingstone's narrative has also revealed that the explorer's ability to control how stories of his discoveries spread in print was challenged by a number of rival authors and publishers. How different readers actually responded to these texts remains to be seen. Sales figures, multiple reprints and editions tell us something about the popularity of works recounting Livingstone's adventures but they do not capture the nature of readers' engagements with particular editions. As George Thornton suggested not everyone who bought copies of *Missionary Travels* went on to read the work and those that did might not have been so interested in the words on the page:

African explorers have overstocked the libraries with journals and travels – no one ever reads or buys them. Dr L's book had a wonderful sale – the pictures did it – but I have never met anyone who had read the book through tho' it is very interesting.¹⁰⁷

The remainder of this chapter addresses questions of reception, focusing specifically upon reviews of *Missionary Travels*, featured within English-language periodicals between 1857 and 1860. These reviews, although not unproblematic as sources of evidence as discussed in chapters 1 and 2, were an important means of communicating and debating the contents of Livingstone's text, particularly given that many more readers would have had access to periodical titles than to the first volume produced by Murray.¹⁰⁸ We cannot treat periodical reviews as straightforward routes to the responses of their authors, however, for as historians of Victorian literature have noted, many mid-nineteenth-century reviewers were

¹⁰⁷ G. Thornton to R. Thornton, May 3, 1861. Thornton Material, MS 2, Brehurst Library. Published in M. Boucher (ed.) *Livingstone Letters, 1843 to 1872: David Livingstone Correspondence in Brehurst Library, Johannesburg* (South Africa: The Brehurst Press, 1985), 55.

¹⁰⁸ Murray himself recognised that there was a market for a shorter, cheaper account of Livingstone's narrative and published *A Popular Account of Missionary Travels and Researches in South Africa* in 1861. See L. Henderson, *Towards a Geography of Mid-Nineteenth Century Publishing: John Murray and the Author(is)ing of David Livingstone's Missionary Travels* (Royal Holloway, University of London, Unpublished MA Dissertation, 2007), 73-87.

increasingly self-conscious about their role as critics.¹⁰⁹ They wrote for particular audiences but were also constrained to some degree by the conventions of the periodicals they wrote for and were often subject to editorial revision themselves. Furthermore, as Brake argues, 'some mid-century critics, particularly those who regarded themselves as professionals, had many authorial personae; and of those who ... had 'views' that were decided, publicly articulated, and acknowledged, few associated themselves with a single periodical or a single point of view at any one time'.¹¹⁰ The convention of publishing reviews which were unsigned afforded authors the freedom to vary their style, tone and content according to the demands of different periodicals. Anonymity also had benefits for periodical editors: as Brake suggests, it helped to create a coherent 'corporate identity' which compensated for the heterogeneous character of journals constructed of a variety of articles on different themes by numerous authors.¹¹¹ Additionally, many periodicals were of course owned by publishers of books ensuring that anonymous reviews would often act as a vehicle for promoting their latest outputs to readers, booksellers and libraries alike.¹¹² As a result, published reviews combine the personal responses of writers with the perceived interests of their readers and also the nature of the periodical titles in which they appeared. Within this chapter, reviews are used to examine how and why *Missionary Travels* was presented to particular audiences in highly specific ways depending upon the periodical title within which they appeared and the broader political, social and religious contexts in which their authors wrote.

Reviewing Conventions

Different periodical titles had their own reviewing conventions which significantly shaped the style and length of treatment that *Missionary Travels* received. Some simply noticed recently published works as a long list of titles accompanied by one or two lines of commentary. The *Evangelical Repository's* assessment of *Missionary*

¹⁰⁹ J. Shattock, 'Reviewing generations: professionalism and the mid-Victorian reviewer', *Victorian Periodicals Review*, 35 (2002), 384-400; L. Brake, 'Literary criticism and the Victorian periodicals' *The Yearbook of English Studies*, 16 (1986), 92-116.

¹¹⁰ L. Brake, 'Literary criticism and the Victorian periodicals', 99.

¹¹¹ L. Brake, *Print in Transition 1850-1910* (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2001), 4. Brake also discusses the shift towards signed journalism which began in the 1860s with *Macmillan's Magazine* and *Fortnightly Review*. See also chapter 5, this volume and S. Nash, 'What's in a name? Signature, criticism, and authority in the *Fortnightly Review*' *Victorian Periodicals Review* 43 (2010), 57-82;

¹¹² C.A. Wilson, 'Placing the margins: literary reviews, pedagogical practices, and the canon of Victorian women's writing', *Tulsa Studies in Women's Writing*, 28 (2009), 58-59.

Travels, for instance, ran to only four lines and stated simply, ‘While Dr Livingstone is rather a doer of things to be written about than a writer, the value of the book, in its department, will not easily be over-estimated. And the intrinsic interest of his discoveries and adventures elicits and sustains interest in his narrative’.¹¹³ Although short, such notices nevertheless provided readers with valuable information, encouraging them to seek out particular works over others. In the case of the *Quarterly Journal of Prophecy*, for instance, a short notice was deemed an appropriate means of alerting its readers to Livingstone’s book, a work which the periodical’s readers might otherwise overlook. As the note explained, ‘Though this work does not fall strictly within our province, nor contain views of missionary work quite in accordance with our own, we cannot forbear adding our testimony to the value and interest of the volume’.¹¹⁴

One means of offering readers a greater insight into a work without necessarily extending the amount of critical commentary offered was through the use of extracts. Even where extracts were accompanied by no commentary at all, the selection of particular passages over others or the re-positioning of parts originally disparate alongside one another could be highly suggestive. Many religious periodicals adopted this approach with the *Monthly Christian Spectator*, for instance indicating its intention to ‘give some of the most noticeable parts of this book, which is undoubtedly the book of the season’. Their review was intended to provide sufficient information about and material from the book itself so as to satisfy those readers that could not afford a guinea to purchase a copy and so would ‘stoically wait till it comes to *‘their turn in the Book Society’*’.¹¹⁵ The *Home and Foreign Record of the Church of Scotland* argued that it was not wholly appropriate for a periodical of its kind to offer critical evaluations of works lately published but explained to its readers that while ‘We cannot venture in the *Record* to give critical notices even of works like Dr Livingstone’s ... at the same time, extracts bearing on

¹¹³ ‘Critical notices. *Missionary Travels and Researches in South Africa*’, *Evangelical Repository*, 4 (1858), 141.

¹¹⁴ ‘Reviews. *Missionary Travels and Researches in South Africa*’, *Quarterly Journal of Prophecy*, 10 (1858), 85.

¹¹⁵ ‘Livingstone’s African Explorations’, *Monthly Christian Spectator*, 7 (1857), 750 (emphasis in original).

the life and labours of missionaries would seem to be more appropriate, although few remarks or none should accompany them'.¹¹⁶

By contrast many other periodicals – the established monthlies and quarterlies in particular – would weave a series of extracts into a piece of criticism, affording the reviewer a greater opportunity to pass judgement on specific aspects of the text. Derek Roper and Janice Cavell have referred to this as ‘the “guided tour” method of reviewing’.¹¹⁷ While this was an approach deployed in relation to a variety of literary forms and genres, the travel narrative, often divided into chapters dedicated to particular stages along a route, was particularly suited to this method of reviewing. Indeed some reviewers used the structure that such a method encouraged to divide their review into two or more instalments.¹¹⁸ In such cases, readers would have a week, fortnight or month to digest each stage of Livingstone’s journey before the reviewer would reveal what happened next. This encouraged readers who could not access a copy of the book itself to obtain the next issue. However, such reviews could also benefit those that were already in possession of *Missionary Travels*. As a reviewer for *Fraser’s Magazine* suggested for instance,

There are very few of our readers who will not at some time read this work, or a portion of it, for themselves. We need not therefore speak of it any great detail. But we think they will find it rather difficult to follow the thread of the narrative, which is broken by innumerable digressions. It may be of service to them therefore to know the outline of Dr Livingstone’s journeys before they begin to read his work.¹¹⁹

Such reviews then were explicitly designed to prepare readers in advance of their own encounter with a copy of the text.

Some reviewers did not see the need to rely heavily upon extracts. The piece in the *North British Review*, for example, explained that ‘The unusually high circulation to which [*Missionary Travels*] has attained, and the copious extracts of stirring adventure and hairbreadth escapes, which have been made from it by the newspaper press, while testifying to the deep interest taken by the nation in the work

¹¹⁶ The travels and researches of Dr Livingstone, the African missionary’, *Home and Foreign Record of the Church of Scotland*, 3 (1858), 53.

¹¹⁷ J. Cavell, *Tracing the Connected Narrative*, 33.

¹¹⁸ ‘Voyages and travels’, *Critic*, 16 (1857), 509-511, 533-535; ‘Dr Livingstone’s Travels and Researches’, *Cape Monthly Magazine*, 13(1858), 46-55, 120-123; J.L.B. ‘Dr Livingstone’s Missionary Travels and Researches in South Africa’, *Edinburgh Christian Magazine* 9 (1858), pp.302-309, 333-340, 375-380.

¹¹⁹ T.C.S., ‘Livingstone’s Travels in South Africa [Review]’, *Fraser’s Magazine for Town and Country*, 57 (1858), 118.

to which Livingstone's life is devoted, also render it unnecessary that we should dwell on features of his work, with which all our readers are familiar'.¹²⁰ Similarly, many of the quarterlies revealed that they fully expected their readers to supplement the material provided in their reviews by consulting a copy of the volume itself. For instance, the *British Quarterly Review* noted its determination not 'to follow Dr Livingstone's footsteps in detail', reasoning 'That would be superfluous for the volume, though bulky, is one which will be read from cover to cover by all who may have the opportunity of feasting upon it in a leisurely way'.¹²¹ Many less affluent readers though would not, as has already been noted, enjoy this privilege.

Following the initial flourish of reviews dedicated to *Missionary Travels*, a number of periodicals featured comparative reviews, placing Livingstone's narrative alongside one or more other recently published works of travel or exploration. That appearing in the *North American Review*, for instance, brought together ten different works on African exploration published between 1856 and 1858. As well as *Missionary Travels*, the article featured works by the likes of Richard F. Burton, Charles Andersson and Henry Barth which allowed the piece to address wider issues concerning the African continent as a whole rather than focussing on a particular region as traversed by an individual explorer. Indeed, as the reviewer explained, 'It is not our purpose, in this article, to take special notice of any of these works, either in the way of praise or of fault-finding. The chief value and common merit of them all is that they give information concerning Africa, - information on which we can rely, and which in every case we can understand'.¹²² Thus, such reviews went further than simply synthesising an individual book and encouraged readers to think more widely about the relative contributions that different works made to some of the most pressing issues of the day.

Even those comparative reviews which were relatively more modest in scope, discussing only two or three works at a time attempted to leave their readers with a broader impression of the implications of such works for the future of Christianity, commerce and civilization in Africa. The *New Englander*, for instance, considered *Missionary Travels* alongside Barth's *Travels and Discoveries in North and Central Africa*, comparing how each explorer had prepared for their journey, the routes they

¹²⁰ 'Missionary Travels and Researches in South Africa [Review]', *North British Review*, 28 (1858), 258-9.

¹²¹ 'Dr Livingstone's African researches', *British Quarterly Review*, 27 (1858), 109.

¹²² 'Recent researches in Africa', *North American Review*, 86 (1858), 530-563.

had followed and the subsequent volumes they had produced. By way of conclusion, the reviewer offered readers a numbered summary of the main observations that ought to be drawn from the works. Livingstone and Barth's narratives were shown to make three common arguments, testifying to the productive potential of Africa, the evil of the slave-trade and finally, that Christianity would only thrive in Africa once the slave-trade was abolished and commerce established. By suggesting that two renowned explorers had presented identical arguments, the reviewer sought to present a strong case in favour of pursuing the suggested course of action in Africa. Indeed, in the conclusion of the piece, the reviewer demanded that readers, 'as intelligent Christians, conscious of the blight which slavery casts upon our own land, stand ready to aid by our sympathies, and our contributions, the work of civilization now germinating in Africa, and to cause that where the mart is established, the Cross to be planted'.¹²³

While the different reviewing methods identified here may to some degree have required reviewers to conform to the established precedent of the reviews section for which they were writing, the very fact that different styles of review existed serves to remind us that reviewers, as much as the readers they hoped to address, could approach texts in very different ways. The practice of 'reviewing' a work meant different things in different print spaces. As a consequence, the extent to which a reviewer could explicitly express their personal opinion about a work could vary markedly from one publication to another.

Recurring Themes

Missionary Travels gave rise to a range of responses in a broad spectrum of periodical titles. While we might expect to find reviews of the work in geographical publications, Livingstone's book also provoked comment in periodicals which specialised in literature, theology, politics and science as well as 'general interest' titles as Appendix III highlights. These periodicals occupied a range of formats from expensive Quarterlies to monthly and weekly magazines and daily newspapers. The reviews they carried were aimed towards various reading publics including Livingstone's fellow travellers, scientific communities and men, women and children up and down the social ladder, however, while individual assessments of *Missionary*

¹²³ 'Barth and Livingstone on Central Africa', *New Englander*, 26 (1858), 372.

Travels could vary dramatically within these periodicals, reviews nevertheless cohered around a limited set of themes. These included Livingstone's skill as an author, Livingstone as a scientific explorer, Livingstone as a missionary and the prospect of bringing Christianity, commerce and civilization to Africa. Examining each of these topics and the way that they were addressed within different periodicals emphasises the extent to which decisions made within the publishing house shaped reviewers responses but also how particular religious, political and social contexts could influence the presentation of *Missionary Travels* to particular readerships.

Livingstone as an Author

Considering how reviewers discussed Livingstone's qualities as an author helps to assess whether the steps taken by Murray and his advisors to render the work readable but still convincing as an authentic account proved effective. Murray and Binney, as discussed earlier, had convinced Livingstone to include a 'personal sketch' at the start of the narrative in the hope that it might be used to communicate the widespread appeal of the text. Their efforts in editing the piece to ensure it set the desired tone appear to have been rewarded as several reviewers referred to this section at length in evaluating the literary merit of *Missionary Travels*. The *Dublin University Magazine*, for example, drew a connection between the character of the man and that of the book, noting 'The same plainness, simplicity, and unstudied truthfulness which individualise the manners of the man himself in public and private have stamped his book and sealed [it] as genuine'.¹²⁴ In fact a great number of reviews remarked upon the 'plainness', 'modesty and simplicity' of both the narrative and the man.¹²⁵ The *Rambler*, meanwhile, reminded its readers that the explorer was 'very modest about his style: he owns himself to be perfectly inexperienced', and praised the fact that 'his African experiences' were 'told with vigour if not with refinement'.¹²⁶ The *Colonial Church Chronicle* was also full of praise, informing readers that, 'All is pleasingly told, in a happy and easy style; and there is certainly little need for his apology, that his seventeen years' residence

¹²⁴ 'Livingstone's "Missionary Travels"', *Dublin University Magazine: A Literary and Political Journal* 51 (1858), 57.

¹²⁵ 'Reviews and notices. *Missionary Travels and Researches in South Africa*' *Colonial Church Chronicle, and Missionary Journal*, (1858), 32; 'Literary review. *Missionary Travels and Researches in South Africa*', *United States Democratic Review*, 42 (1858), 80.

¹²⁶ 'Miscellaneous literature', *Rambler*, 9 (1858), 70.

among the natives had almost made him forget his native tongue'¹²⁷ while the *Athenaeum* proclaimed that *Missionary Travels* was 'a book not so much of travel and adventure as, in its purport and spacious relation, a veritable poem'.¹²⁸

However, not all reviewers were impressed by Livingstone's style of writing. *Blackwood's Magazine*, for instance, informed its readers that 'This is the story of a remarkable man, but otherwise it is not a remarkable book; and it is to the credit of this generation which loves "style" so much, and is so greatly influenced by literary graces, that a work so entirely devoid of both should, nevertheless, have attained so remarkable popularity'.¹²⁹ Similarly, while the *Critic* determined that the book was 'invaluable as a repertory of fact' it nevertheless suggested that it had 'little merit as a literary performance'.¹³⁰ However, the reviewer from the *Scottish Congregational Magazine*, pointed out that Livingstone had 'gracefully' acknowledged his own shortcomings as an author in the 'modest preface' and suggested that the 'missionary traveller and discoverer' ought not to be judged according to the same criteria as established authors.¹³¹ For many, a less polished style was to be praised for it suggested a lack of 'working up'. Notwithstanding the fact that Livingstone had consciously attempted to make his narrative both 'popular' and 'saleable', reviews such as that in the *British Quarterly Review* concluded that 'his blunt elliptical style shows, at any rate, that the author is careless of effect, and in a traveller's narrative it is much to know that you may trust your man to the very letter of his tale. There is no brag about the book'.¹³²

It was not only Livingstone's writing style that was scrutinised: the arrangement of material within *Missionary Travels*, something which Livingstone had himself struggled with, was for some a source of disappointment. The *Critic* complained, for instance, that 'The notes of the journey seem also to have been very loosely kept; for distances are hardly ever given, and there is very seldom a date to guide us by'. Moreover, as the reviewer explained,

only eighteen pages after the start (which occurred in April 1850) we find ourselves, in the end of June 1851, when Dr Livingstone and Mr Oswell discovered the river Zambezi. ... Another page and a half

¹²⁷ 'Reviews and notices. *Missionary Travels and Researches in South Africa*', *Colonial Church Chronicle, and Missionary Journal*, (1858), 32.

¹²⁸ 'Reviews. *Missionary Travels and Researches in South Africa*', *Athenaeum* 1567 (1857), 1381.

¹²⁹ 'The Missionary explorer', *Blackwood's Edinburgh Magazine*, 83 (1858), 394.

¹³⁰ 'Voyages and travels', *Critic*, 16 (1857), 533-35.

¹³¹ 'Dr Livingstone's travels', *Scottish Congregational Magazine*, 8 (1858), 10.

¹³² 'Dr Livingstone's African researches', *British Quarterly Review*, 27 (1858), 109.

brings us down to Cape Town again and to the month of April 1852
(It is astonishing how quickly the good doctor gets over both time and
space)¹³³

This reviewer expected Livingstone's narrative to resemble something more akin to a diary, taking the reader along the route traversed at a steady and predictable pace. Similarly, although the *Spectator* concluded that 'taken altogether, the book is original, attractive, and important,' the reviewer nevertheless argued that the arrangement of the work could have been significantly improved had it been divided into 'three distinct parts like the acts of a drama' with separate sections on geography, natural history and 'native character'.¹³⁴

By contrast the *Monthly Christian Spectator* believed that the slightly haphazard arrangement was further testament to the work's authenticity arguing that 'We would rather have Livingstone as he is, ... without any "tidying" or "gentlemanizing" from men who have braved no dangers, and made no sacrifices, such as those detailed in this altogether marvellously instructive and religious book'.¹³⁵ The reviewer therefore echoed Livingstone's assertion that he was best qualified to prepare his narrative. Other reviewers though admitted that they suspected that *Missionary Travels* bore the mark of more than one individual. The *American Church Monthly*, for example, noted that 'The book, we admit, shows somewhat of clap trap in the getting up' but argued that 'whatever blame may be due on this score should in fairness be set down to the publishers, not to the author, who discovers no symptoms of a wish to pass for one iota more than he is worth'.¹³⁶ This was an important distinction to make for if the publisher was seen to be responsible for the 'getting up' of the work rather than the author, readers could retain a certain degree of faith in the truthfulness of the narrative.

Livingstone as Scientific Explorer

The degree to which Livingstone could be trusted as an author had a direct bearing on the extent to which *Missionary Travels* would be regarded as extending geographical knowledge and scientific understanding more widely. However, it was

¹³³ 'Voyages and travels', *Critic*, 16 (1857), 510.

¹³⁴ 'Livingstone's travels in South Africa', *Littell's Living Age*, 20 (1858), 2.

¹³⁵ 'Livingstone's African explorations', *Monthly Christian Spectator*, 7 (1857), 764.

¹³⁶ 'Missionary Travels and Researches in South Africa [Review]', *American Church Monthly*, 3 (1858), 146.

not simply the trustworthiness of the published narrative that was questioned. Reviewers also contemplated the degree to which Livingstone ought to be considered qualified to undertake such explorations in the first place. Again the personal sketch proved an important feature. The *United Presbyterian Magazine*, for example, suggested that too few works of travel provided such information as could assist readers in determining whether an explorer was 'reared and qualified for their task'.¹³⁷ The *Christian Remembrancer*, meanwhile determined that Livingstone's biography displayed a life-long pursuit towards self-improvement and commented that 'A traveller, like a poet, must be born so; indeed, a traveller, to earn the name, must be a poet – must have the ardent love of nature, that aspiring after unseen, unexplored beauties and wonders, that power of abstraction from the immediate and visible pursuits or ends of life which are the foundation of a poetic mind'.¹³⁸ Livingstone's early life was held to display all such characteristics.

While the *Dublin University Magazine* claimed that Livingstone's contributions to geographical knowledge would provoke 'unanimity of opinion' on account of his having 'unquestionably accomplished much', it was clear that in other circles, 'an ardent love of nature' was not enough to qualify one to make contributions to the various branches of science.¹³⁹ The *New Englander* claimed that it was no wonder that Livingstone's 'generalizations in respect to the structure of the continent, and the connection of the water-courses, are received with some distrust', for instance, as he been neither 'educated as a traveller or a geographer'.¹⁴⁰ The *North British Review* also emphasised that first-hand experience alone was not enough to render an explorer's claims reliable, highlighting instead the importance of being 'scientifically fitted for the task'.¹⁴¹ The *American Church Monthly*, however, argued that although Livingstone was 'not overstocked with scientific preparation,' he could nevertheless improve scientific understanding of the regions through which he traversed. In fact, the reviewer even suggested that a lack of formal training in scientific observation may have been to the benefit of Livingstone's narrative:

¹³⁷ 'Dr Livingstone's travels in Africa', *United Presbyterian Magazine*, 1 (1857), 551.

¹³⁸ 'Missionary Travels and Researches in South Africa, &c.', *Christian Remembrancer A Quarterly Review*, 35 (1858), 130.

¹³⁹ 'Livingstone's "Missionary Travels"', *Dublin University Magazine: A Literary and Political Journal* 51 (1858), 72.

¹⁴⁰ 'Barth and Livingstone on Central Africa', *New Englander*, 26 (1858), 364.

¹⁴¹ 'Missionary Travels and Researches in South Africa [Review]', *North British Review*, 28 (1858), 259.

And indeed it may well be questioned whether if the author had been more of an adept in scientific detail, the effect would not have been to impair the interest and value of his work as a book of travels. For no man can be master of *all* the sciences; though one may be competent to serve as a *feeder* of them all, or at least to several of them;¹⁴²

Likewise, the *North American Review* was willing to overlook the fact that Livingstone was 'not strictly a scientific traveller' on account of his being 'a very watchful and close observer of all things around, above and beneath him'. It is interesting though, of course, that the reviewer should deem themselves qualified to pass such a judgement, even asserting boldly that 'No botanist could be more observing or accurate'.¹⁴³ Yet, the *Christian Observer*, epitomised the view held by many periodicals when it claimed that 'Geographical discoveries, however interesting they may be in themselves, are surely greatly enhanced, when they are looked upon not as the end itself, but as the means to an end'.¹⁴⁴ Unsurprisingly, this and many other religious periodicals therefore encouraged readers to view Livingstone's discoveries as a 'prelude to missionary exertions' and thus shied away from providing in-depth analyses of the geographical information contained within the work.¹⁴⁵

Livingstone as Missionary

Livingstone's credentials as a missionary explorer though were also the subject of much debate amongst reviewers. The *Colonial Church Chronicle*, for instance, bemoaned the fact that the work was 'found to contain less matter of a strictly Missionary character, than its name would have led us to expect'.¹⁴⁶ Yet, in sharp contrast the *Presbyterian Magazine* claimed that 'throughout the whole book, there shines forth a Christian's faith and a Christian's joy'.¹⁴⁷ Meanwhile, the *Dublin Review* determined that Livingstone was 'the most accomplished, and it is almost as

¹⁴² 'Missionary Travels and Researches in South Africa [Review]', *American Church Monthly*, 3 (1858), 147-8.

¹⁴³ 'Recent researches in Africa', *North American Review*, 86 (1858), 557.

¹⁴⁴ 'Dr Livingstone's travels', *Christian Observer Conducted by Members of the Established Church* (1858), 49.

¹⁴⁵ 'Dr Livingstone's travels', *Christian Observer Conducted by Members of the Established Church* (1858), 49.

¹⁴⁶ 'Reviews and notices. Missionary Travels and Researches in South Africa', *Colonial Church Chronicle and Missionary Journal*, (1858), 29-33.

¹⁴⁷ Review and criticism. *Missionary Travels and Researches in South Africa*, *Presbyterian Magazine*, 8 (1858), 188.

of course to say, the most liberal of African explorers' and testified that the explorer's work had 'borne candid testimony to the complete success of the Jesuit and Capuchin missionaries in the Portuguese settlements'.¹⁴⁸ The review praised the fact that Livingstone had 'taken a somewhat more rational approach' to missionary endeavours than 'is usually done by men of his class who play at missions in distant and savage countries'.¹⁴⁹ Yet his more pragmatic approach coupled with the account that Livingstone presented in the personal sketch, caused the reviewer to conclude that 'no one ... could say that missionary labours were his principal occupation, or missionary zeal his great incentive'.¹⁵⁰ Nevertheless, the reviewer found much material worth discussing. While the explorer's contributions to science and commerce were considered to be 'incontestable', material relating to missionary enterprise received a much more considered response. Although the review was generally positive, its author clearly sought to avoid endorsing Livingstone's own brand of Christianity, reminding readers that the periodical could hold 'no faith in Protestant missionary enterprise, and expect nothing from it in the way of missionary results'.¹⁵¹ As a result, the piece did not recommend that its readers should attempt to obtain a copy for closer study. Instead, the reviewer explained that they did 'not think that Dr Livingstone's work can be too widely diffused amongst Catholics, or too seriously read by them at home and abroad'.¹⁵² By contrast though, another Catholic periodical, the *Irish Quarterly Review*, contended that there were 'only two passages at all objectionable' to followers of the Catholicism and argued that the explorer's Protestantism should not overshadow 'the energy, perseverance, and self denial with which Dr Livingstone prosecuted his travels'. Indeed, the reviewer preached tolerance between different branches of the Christian faith, asserting that 'It is to be hoped that the antagonism between these two churches will not render of no effect the attempt to civilise the poor natives'.¹⁵³

¹⁴⁸ 'Recent African Explorations', *Dublin Review*, 44 (1858), 159.

¹⁴⁹ 'Recent African Explorations', *Dublin Review*, 44 (1858), 172.

¹⁵⁰ 'Recent African Explorations', *Dublin Review*, 44 (1858), 173.

¹⁵¹ 'Recent African Explorations', *Dublin Review*, 44 (1858), 180.

¹⁵² 'Recent African explorations', *Dublin Review*, 44 (1858), 180.

¹⁵³ 'Livingstone's travels and researches', *Irish Quarterly Review*, 7 (1858), 1213.

Christianity, Commerce and Civilization

Livingstone's religion was rarely discussed without reference to the relationship between his faith and his beliefs about the commercial potential of Africa and, consequently, the degree to which the African population might be 'civilized'. Many reviewers discussed the implications of the description of the social and physical conditions provided in *Missionary Travels*. Although many heralded the fact that Africa represented 'A vast theatre ... open here to commercial and Christian enterprise',¹⁵⁴ others were more sceptical, noting in particular that the slave trade was an ongoing barrier to both commerce and civilisation. The *Southern Presbyterian's* review, for example, focused specifically on the 'subject of Slavery as an institution existing in Africa, and of Christian Missions as they have operated in that country under Dr Livingstone's observations and through his own agency'.¹⁵⁵ The reviewer concluded that *Missionary Travels* provided 'a very meagre account from a man who resided 16 years in Africa, and crossed the continent more than once, respecting slavery and the slave trade in Africa'.¹⁵⁶ The reviewer also complained that the little information that Livingstone did give in this respect was scattered throughout the volume echoing earlier complaints about the structure of the book. In contrast, *De Bow's Review* presented a remarkably close analysis of the contents of both Livingstone's and Barth's expeditionary narratives. With regard to *Missionary Travels*, the reviewer informed readers that,

the word *slave* occurs seventy-three times, without enumerating the synonymous word *servant*, which occurs almost as frequently. The word *slave-trade* is mentioned twenty-two times, while there are numerous other words and modes of expression conveying the same idea which have not been noted. The word *slavery* is repeated thirteen times, and *slave-market* five times. All these words or expressions are used in speaking of the domestic concerns of the country, and of the families and tribes where he went.¹⁵⁷

Such commentary not only provides a further example of how different reviewers practiced the art of reviewing but also points to how different interests came to bear upon how reviewers interpreted the same text. While the Tory *Blackwood's*

¹⁵⁴ 'Dr Livingstone's travel's in Africa', *Theological and Literary Journal*, 10 (1858), 658.

¹⁵⁵ 'Critical notices. *Missionary Travels and Researches in South Africa*', *Southern Presbyterian Review*, 10 (1858), 636.

¹⁵⁶ 'Critical notices. *Missionary Travels and Researches in South Africa*', *Southern Presbyterian Review*, 10 (1858), 638.

¹⁵⁷ Kilpatrick, Dr., 'The African El Dorado', *De Bow's Review, Agricultural, Commercial, Industrial Progress and Resources*, 26 (1859), 509.

Magazine had concluded that 'Dr Livingstone's enterprise is not a purely missionary one' but rather 'a directly anti-slavery expedition',¹⁵⁸ by contrast, the American periodical *De Bow's Review* offered a different assessment, reflecting its role as 'the South's semiofficial spokesman'.¹⁵⁹ During the 1850s *De Bow's* advocated the view that slavery was integral to Southern prosperity and increasingly argued that slaves should be imported from Africa in order to assist the South in staving off the advances of the richer North. *De Bows'* reviewer used *Missionary Travels* to support this argument, presenting Livingstone's descriptions of African slavery to their own readers 'for the purpose of showing what kind of people the Africans are at home, in their own country; and those who have seen negroes in America, where they are represented as groaning in their bondage, can compare and contrast the two people'.¹⁶⁰ While Livingstone himself condemned slavery and the slave trade, this reviewer surprisingly claimed that the explorer had provided enough evidence to suggest that the transportation of slaves would be a positive step forward. This assessment went against the expectations of several reviewers including those in the American North. *The Ladies' Repository* for instance noted that

[Livingstone's] detestation of slavery, with which he was often brought into contact, is genuine and intense; and the way he shows the identity of African with American pro-slavery logic and ethics is terribly withering though it is always quietly and in good temper. I think, however, our southern friends will be compelled to put the book into their *Index Expurgatorius*.¹⁶¹

The Northern equivalent of *De Bow's Review*, *Hunt's Merchant's Magazine and Commercial Review*, confirms that not all commercially-focused periodicals interpreted *Missionary Travels* in the same way. *Hunt's* had relatively little to say on the issue of the slave trade and instead focused upon the physical barriers to trade with Africa, ultimately concluding that 'the geographical configuration of Africa was not favourable to commerce'.¹⁶² Indeed, alongside the slave trade, the climate of the continent was said to be one of the greatest barriers to civilization and commerce.

¹⁵⁸ 'The missionary explorer', *Blackwood's Edinburgh Magazine*, 83 (1858), 394.

¹⁵⁹ R.F. Durden, 'J.D.B. De Bow: convolutions on slavery', *Journal of Southern History*, 17 (1951), 442.

¹⁶⁰ Kilpatrick, Dr., 'The African El Dorado', *De Bow's Review, Agricultural, Commercial, Industrial Progress and Resources*, 26 (1859), 509.

¹⁶¹ 'New York literary correspondence', *Ladies' Repository A Monthly Periodical Devoted to Literature, Arts, and Religion*, 18 (1858), 122.

¹⁶² 'Geographical discovery in Eastern Africa', *Hunt's Merchant's Magazine and Commercial Review*, 43 (1860), 158.

Even though reviewers were convinced by Livingstone's testimony as to the fertility of vast swathes of the continent, they doubted whether Europeans could thrive in the tropical climate. The *Ohio Medical and Surgical Journal*, for example, informed readers that 'The climate is mortiferous to the white race. This seems to be rendered certain by all the experiments made. The author suffered twenty-seven attacks of fever'.¹⁶³ As a result, the reviewer posited that 'The labour therefore of getting up a civilization for this part of Africa and of carrying it on must be performed by Africans themselves'.¹⁶⁴ Such an assertion was echoed by the *North American Review* which stated that 'This objection of the climate will in itself prevent Africa from becoming a dependency or a colonial possession of any European power'.¹⁶⁵ Moreover, the reviewer contended, it was not only settlement which the climate would deter with trade also suffering from 'this hindrance'.¹⁶⁶

Yet, for many, leaving the African population to 'get up a civilization' for themselves was not a serious option. The vices of Portuguese slaves were taken as evidence that individuals of a higher moral code would be needed to ensure that those in the interior were 'protected from injustice and demoralization by foreigners'.¹⁶⁷ The *Theological and Literary Journal* argued that only if such protection was provided, would the indigenous population 'rise into the sphere of civilisation, embrace the gospel, and become a great, a cultivated, and a happy people'.¹⁶⁸ While the *Ohio Medical and Surgical Journal* had claimed that there was little hope of Europeans overcoming the climatic conditions to such a degree as to required to establish a civilized trading community, the *Ladies' Repository* drew a comparison between current experiences of white explorers in Africa and the conditions endured by early settlers in the New World:

Does [Livingstone] attribute these [fevers] to any permanent miasmatic causes in the interior? Does he tell us that the Makololo tribes, the Balonda tribes, or the tribes about Lake Ngami suffer from fevers more generally than the English people do, or than we Americans do? Did not the first white explorers of the new world suffer hard fevers along the Mississippi, the Ohio, the Hudson, the Connecticut?¹⁶⁹

¹⁶³ 'Original communications', *Ohio Medical and Surgical Journal*, 10 (1858), 294.

¹⁶⁴ 'Original communications', *Ohio Medical and Surgical Journal*, 10 (1858), 294.

¹⁶⁵ 'Recent researches in Africa', *North American Review*, 86 (1858), 534.

¹⁶⁶ 'Recent researches in Africa', *North American Review*, 86 (1858), 534.

¹⁶⁷ 'Dr Livingstone's Travel's in Africa', *Theological and Literary Journal*, 10 (1858), 659.

¹⁶⁸ 'Dr Livingstone's travel's in Africa', *Theological and Literary Journal*, 10 (1858), 659.

¹⁶⁹ J.D. Bell, 'A nation of the future', *Ladies' Repository A Monthly Periodical Devoted to Literature, Arts, and Religion*, 20 (1860), 620.

This reviewer encouraged readers to think more positively about the future of Africa by reference to the history of their own settler societies. Yet not all reviewers shared the desire to see Europeans effectively policing the continent. In particular, assertions as to the need to ‘protect’ the native population provoked suspicion in some quarters, especially in American periodicals. While Livingstone had claimed that commerce and civilization would be key to spreading Christianity, the *Southern Presbyterian Review* disputed both ‘the necessity and advantage of commerce and trade to the success of the gospel in Africa’.¹⁷⁰ In addition to their critique of Livingstone’s credentials as a missionary, the reviewer further noted that ‘The Apostle Paul, a far greater missionary than Livingstone, says nothing about “traders” going with him to discharge his obligations to the Barbarians’.¹⁷¹ Livingstone’s motivations as well as his authority were challenged: ‘As a faithful British subject he sympathises with the wish of all good Englishmen that British commerce and manufactures may still flourish the world over’.¹⁷² He thus stood accused of using *Missionary Travels* to couch his argument for further British expansion in humanitarian language.

Missionary Travels then, provoked a wide range of responses from periodical reviewers. While many of the reviews, irrespective of format, addressed similar themes, the opinions expressed by individual authors could vary dramatically. Although the particular alignment of a publication in terms of politics or religion could significantly influence how reviewers presented Livingstone’s book, it was not the only determining factor. *Missionary Travels* inspired a variety of interpretations, as is clear from the breadth of reviews that the book inspired.

* * *

This chapter has examined the production, circulation and reception of the most famous mid-Victorian travel narrative, *Missionary Travels and Researches in South Africa*. In so doing, it has raised a number of general points which have significance beyond this particular case. Firstly, it has highlighted that authorship was a

¹⁷⁰ ‘Critical notices. *Missionary Travels and Researches in South Africa*’, *Southern Presbyterian Review*, 10 (1858), 640.

¹⁷¹ ‘Critical notices. *Missionary Travels and Researches in South Africa*’, *Southern Presbyterian Review*, 10 (1858), 640. (Emphasis in original)

¹⁷² ‘Critical notices. *Missionary Travels and Researches in South Africa*’, *Southern Presbyterian Review*, 10 (1858), 640.

collaborative process shaped by the desire to produce a commercially attractive narrative which was also convincing as an authentic account of personal experience. By following Livingstone's book into various different marketplaces, this chapter has also considered the wider range of print spaces implicated in circulating knowledge about and from *Missionary Travels* and also considered the strategies used by a range of publishers and authors as they attempted to convince readers that their particular publications were authoritative sources. While piracies and abridgements of travel narratives have received relatively little scholarly attention to date, the case of *Missionary Travels* suggests that they could play an important role in engaging readerships which may not have access to authorised editions. Furthermore, the international circulation of *Missionary Travels* also reminds us that texts often crossed national and linguistic boundaries, requiring scholars to consider the mechanisms by which authorial authority was both protected and challenged at a distance, questions which are often overlooked. Finally, the reviews of *Missionary Travels* shed light on the extent to which this seminal text was interpreted and debated within the pages of a wide variety of different publications. This section indicates decisions made within the publishing house often had a tangible impact upon the assumptions that readers made about the value of the text. It also highlights that reviews cohered around a set of common themes although exact responses were often shaped by the affiliations of the publications in question. For significant conclusions to be drawn therefore it is important to examine a wide range of responses in a variety of periodicals.

Taking perhaps the best-known of all mid-Victorian texts about travel and exploration as its focus, this chapter has presented an analysis of the production and circulation of a text using the framework outlined in Chapters 1 and 2. Notwithstanding the celebrity of its author, the reputation of its publisher and the large volume of scholarship already devoted to *Missionary Travels*, I have sought to make the case for a new perspective on the circuits of print culture in the realm of travel and exploration, focussing especially on the role of the publisher and other agents in the production of the work, and its circulation in various forms both nationally and internationally. In the following chapters we consider less well-known works, including books, book series and periodicals, using some of the same tools, in order to develop this perspective further.

Figures

MISSIONARY TRAVELS
AND
RESEARCHES IN SOUTH AFRICA;

INCLUDING A SKETCH OF
SIXTEEN YEARS' RESIDENCE IN THE INTERIOR OF AFRICA,
AND A JOURNEY FROM THE CAPE OF GOOD HOPE TO LOANDA ON THE WEST
COAST; THENCE ACROSS THE CONTINENT, DOWN THE RIVER
ZAMBEZI, TO THE EASTERN OCEAN.

BY DAVID LIVINGSTONE, LL.D., D.C.L.,

FELLOW OF THE FACULTY OF PHYSICS AND ASTRONOMY, GLASGOW; CORRESPONDING MEMBER OF THE
GEOGRAPHICAL AND STATISTICAL SOCIETY OF NEW YORK; GOULD MEDALLIST AND CORRESPONDING
MEMBER OF THE ROYAL GEOGRAPHICAL SOCIETIES OF LONDON AND PARIS,
F.R.S., &c., &c.



Tsetse Fly.—Megafol.—See p. 521.

WITH COAST MAPS BY ADAMSMITH AND SCENERY ILLUSTRATIONS.

LONDON:
JOHN MURRAY, ALBEMARLE STREET.
1857.

The right of Translation is reserved.

3.1 David Livingstone, *Missionary Travels and Researches in South Africa*,
(London: John Murray, 1857)

A NARRATIVE
OF
Dr. Livingston's Discoveries
IN
SOUTH-CENTRAL AFRICA,
From 1849 to 1856.

REPRINTED BY ARRANGEMENT FROM THE "BRITISH BANNER"
NEWSPAPER.

WITH AN ACCURATE MAP.

LONDON:
ROUTLEDGE AND CO, FARRINGTON STREET,
AND BEEKMAN STREET, NEW YORK.
1857.

DR. LIVINGSTON:
ED
LIFE AND ADVENTURES
IN THE
INTERIOR OF SOUTH AFRICA:
COMPRISING A DESCRIPTION OF THE
REGIONS WHICH HE TRAVERSED;
AN ACCOUNT OF
MISSIONARY PIONEERS;
AND CHAPTERS ON
COTTON CULTIVATION, SLAVERY, WILD ANIMALS, ETC., ETC.
BY
H. G. ADAMS.

ILLUSTRATED WITH
A MAP, AND SIXTY ENGRAVINGS.
THE DRAWINGS BY
WRIGHT, HARVEY, THOMAS, WOOD, &c.

LONDON:
HOULSTON & WRIGHT, 45, PATERNOSTER ROW;
AND ALL BOOKSELLERS.



1857

DR. LIVINGSTON:
HIS
LIFE AND ADVENTURES.
BY
H. G. ADAMS.



LONDON: HOULSTON & WRIGHT, 45, PATERNOSTER ROW.

3.2 Competition in the British Marketplace

DR. LIVINGSTONE'S
17 YEARS'
Explorations and Adventures

IN THE

WILDS OF AFRICA.

EDITED BY
JOHN HARTLEY COOMBS, F.R.S.

PHILADELPHIA, PA.:
J. T. LLOYD & CO.
CHICAGO, ILL.:
BRONSON & FOBES,
1857.

MISSIONARY TRAVELS
AND
RESEARCHES IN SOUTH AFRICA:

INCLUDING A SKETCH OF

SIXTEEN YEARS' RESIDENCE IN THE INTERIOR OF AFRICA,
AND A JOURNEY FROM THE CAPE OF GOOD HOPE TO LOANDA ON THE WEST
COAST; THENCE ACROSS THE CONTINENT, DOWN THE RIVER
ZAMBESI, TO THE EASTERN OCEAN.

BY DAVID LIVINGSTONE, LL.D., D.C.L.,
FELLOW OF THE SOCIETY OF PHYSICIANS AND SURGEONS, GLASGOW; CORRESPONDING
MEMBER OF THE GEOGRAPHICAL AND STATISTICAL SOCIETY OF NEW YORK;
HONORARY MEMBER OF THE ROYAL GEOGRAPHICAL SOCIETY OF LONDON AND PARIS;
F.R.S.; ETC., ETC.



Tsetse Fly—Haptophora.—See p. 612.

WITH PORTRAITS: MADE BY ABBOTT; AND NUMEROUS ILLUSTRATIONS.

NEW YORK:
HARPER & BROTHERS, PUBLISHERS,
FRANKLIN SQUARE.
1858.

LIVINGSTONE'S
Travels and Researches
IN SOUTH AFRICA;

INCLUDING

A SKETCH OF SIXTEEN YEARS' RESIDENCE IN THE INTERIOR OF AFRICA,
AND A JOURNEY FROM THE CAPE OF GOOD HOPE TO LOANDA
ON THE WEST COAST, THENCE ACROSS THE CONTINENT,
DOWN THE RIVER ZAMBESI, TO THE
EASTERN OCEAN.

From the Personal Narrative

OF

DAVID LIVINGSTONE, LL.D., D.C.L.,
FELLOW OF THE SOCIETY OF PHYSICIANS AND SURGEONS, GLASGOW; CORRESPONDING MEMBER
OF THE GEOGRAPHICAL AND STATISTICAL SOCIETY OF NEW YORK; HONORARY MEMBER
AND CORRESPONDING MEMBER OF THE ROYAL GEOGRAPHICAL SOCIETY
OF LONDON AND PARIS, ETC., ETC.

TO WHICH IS ADDED

A HISTORICAL SKETCH OF DISCOVERIES IN AFRICA.

Illustrated with Numerous Engravings.



The Tsetse Fly, magnified.

PHILADELPHIA:
J. W. BRADLEY, 48 N. FOURTH STREET.

Missionsreisen und Forschungen

in

Süd-Afrika

während eines sechzehnjährigen Aufenthalts im Innern des Continents.

Autorisirte, vollständige Ausgabe für Deutschland

von

Dr. David Livingstone,

Mitglied der engl. Kammer der Gemeinen zu Glasgow &c. &c.

Und dem Englischen

von

Dr. Hermann Hage.

Preis 25 Neukronen in Leinwand, und sechshundert abgetriebenen Holzschnitten,
2 Karten und einem Portrait.

Zweites Band.

Leipzig,
Hermann Göschen'sche.
1868.

Livingstone, der Missionär.

Erforschungsreisen im Innern Afrika's.

In Schilderungen

der bekanntesten älteren und neueren Reisen

insbesonbere

der grossen Entdeckungen im südlichen Afrika während der Jahre 1830—1856

durch

Dr. David Livingstone.



Zweite vermehrte Auflage.

Mit 92 in den Text gedruckten Abbildungen, sieben Landkarten und einer
Uebersichts-Karte des südlichen Afrika.

Leipzig,
Verlag von Otto Spamer.

1860.

1860/1861/1862

3.5 Different Interpretations of Lake Ngami



Missionary Travels and Researches in South Africa (London: John Murray, 1857)
Facing p.66



Erforschungsreisen in Innern Afrika's (Leipzig: O. Spamer, 1860), p.168

EXPLORATIONS
DANS L'INTÉRIEUR
DE
L'AFRIQUE AUSTRALE

OU
VOYAGES A TRAVERS LE CONTINENT

DE SAINT-PAUL DU LOANGA A L'EMBROUCOUTE DU ZAMBEZI

DE 1840 A 1850

PAR

LE D^r DAVID LIVINGSTONE

OUVRAGE TRADUIT DE L'ANGLAIS
AVEC L'AUTORISATION DU L'AUTEUR

PAR M^r H. LEBLANC

1C 1782

PARIS
LIBRAIRIE DE L. HACHETTE ET C^e
105, RUE DE SEVRES, N^o 14

1859



NOUVELLE BIBLIOTHEQUE DES FAMILLES

L'AFRIQUE OUVERTE

OU

UNE ESQUISSE

DES DECOUVERTES DU D^r LIVINGSTONE

PAR

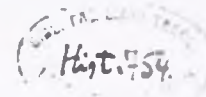
HENRY PAUMIER



PARIS

A LA LIBRAIRIE DE CH. MEYERIS ET COMPAGNIE
174, RUE DE SEVRES

1859



COMMISSION DES MISSIONS
DE L'EGLISE EVANGELIQUE LUTHERIENNE
DE CANTON VAUD (Suisse)

3.6 French-Language Versions of Livingstone's Travels

represented in No. 2. While others, as in No. 3, weave their own hair on pieces of hide into the form of buffalo-horns, or,



No. 2.

as in No. 4, make a single horn in front. The features given are frequently met with, but they are by no means universal. Many tattoo their bodies by inserting some black substance



No. 3.

beneath the skin, which leaves an elevated cicatrix about half an inch long: these are made in the form of stars, and other figures, of no particular beauty.



No. 4. A young man's fashion.

des souffrances qu'elles avaient endurées, accueillir avec reconnaissance le messager de paix. Il les entendait le saluer en s'écriant : « Mon seigneur, donne-nous du repos! donne-nous du sommeil! » Il signale en passant leurs coiffures étranges, dont nous joignons ici quelques échantillons. Mais, plus loin, au lieu de cet accueil hospitalier, ce ne furent plus que populations en armes, menaçantes, et



prêtes à employer la violence contre les pauvres étrangers. D'où venait ce changement soudain? Livingstone en apprit enfin la cause.

Quelque temps auparavant, un aventurier italien, nommé Simoens, avait épousé la fille d'un chef qui vivait au nord de Tété, près des possessions portugaises. Cet homme, afin de s'enrichir, avait armé

Chapter 4

Instructions for Travellers from Travellers: *The Art of Travel or, Shifts and Contrivances Available in Wild Countries*

Examining mid-Victorian exploration narratives from the vantage point of book history and geography can reveal much about the role of print and print technicians in the production and circulation of geographical knowledge. While the previous chapter has demonstrated that there is still much to be understood about even the most well-known exploration narratives, this genre is only one of many forms of travel publishing. The previous chapter considers instructions for travellers, arguing that examining the production, circulation and reception of this particular genre of geographical publishing can provide insights into the nature of geographical inquiry in this period. Although existing work on nineteenth-century instructions for travellers has begun to shed light on the role played by manuals commissioned by scientific societies and institutions, much less attention has been paid to the work of more avowedly-commercial publications. We are yet to fully comprehend the rationale behind these volumes or the ways that particular audiences were targeted by authors and publishers, for instance. Similarly, how different groups of travellers put these manuals to use requires further investigation.

Using Francis Galton's *The Art of Travel or, Shifts and Contrivances Available in Wild Countries* (Figure 4.1) as an exemplar, this chapter raises important questions about the nature of authorship and authority in relation to this form of travel publishing, the role of scholarly and scientific institutions in sanctioning particular instructions for travellers and the relationship between this and other influential forms including the tourist guidebook and military training manual. This case also presents an opportunity to consider the diverse audiences for commercial instructions for travellers and to examine how particular individuals and groups used the information within these manuals to prepare for their own travels. The chapter places *The Art of Travel* within three contexts associated, respectively, with the Royal Geographical Society, the British Army and the publishing firm of John Murray. Considering how Galton and his publisher packaged and repackaged material in response to these contexts allows us to consider how *The Art of Travel* itself travelled through different print spaces. Examining these forms reveals something of the collaborative nature of authorship but also of the intended audiences for the work. Considering how *The Art of Travel* was read (or perhaps more appropriately was used) within these overlapping contexts provides an indication of the responses to the work amongst particular groups.

4.1 *The Art of Travel: A Manual for 'all who have to rough it'*¹

On New Year's Day, 1855, Charles Darwin wrote to Francis Galton to express his faith that the newly published *The Art of Travel, or, Shifts and Contrivances Available in Wild Countries* would enjoy not necessarily a large sale but certainly a long one.² Darwin's expectations proved correct: between 1855 and 1872, John Murray published five separate editions of Galton's manual, printing 7000 copies in the process.³ This does not make *The Art of Travel* a 'bestseller' by contemporary standards: as the previous chapter noted sales of *Missionary Travels* reached 30,000 in just five years. However, as Koivunen notes, publishers regularly attempted to minimise potential losses by limiting the initial print runs of travel and exploration works to between 750 and 1,250 copies.⁴ In this respect, *The Art of Travel* was altogether typical (Murray printed 1000 copies of the first edition). However, what was less typical was the work's steady, sustained success over a longer period: 1500 copies were printed of the second edition in 1856, 2000 of the third in 1860, 1500 of the fourth in 1867 and 1000 of the fifth in 1872.⁵ Considering how both Galton and Murray positioned *The Art of Travel* in relation to the three contexts explored within this chapter goes some way to explaining why this particular example of instructions for travellers enjoyed such longevity.

Galton claimed that the idea for *The Art of Travel or, Shifts and Contrivances Available in Wild Countries* was inspired by personal experience. Reading about and undertaking foreign travel had convinced him of the need for a compendium of advice to assist travellers in 'the then unknown parts of the world'.⁶ He noted, for instance, that numerous travellers would report overcoming similar hardships in the field, hardships which might have been avoided had they only been more familiar with the writings of their fellow travellers. Galton explained in a lecture for soldiers at Aldershot that it was this realisation that prompted him to begin actively collating

¹ F. Galton, *The Art of Travel or, Shifts and Contrivances Available in Wild Countries*, First Edition, 1855, iii.

² C. Darwin to F. Galton, January 1, [1855], Letter 1267, Darwin Correspondence Project Database. Darwin's annotated copy of *The Art of Travel* is now held within Cambridge University Library.

³ Copies Ledger E (1846-1876) John Murray Archive, MS42730, National Library of Scotland, 318, 362, 399.

⁴ L. Koivunen, *Visualizing Africa in Nineteenth-Century British Travel Accounts*, (London: Routledge), 116.

⁵ Copies Ledger E (1846-1876) John Murray Archive, MS42730, National Library of Scotland, 318, 362, 399; D. Middleton, 'Introduction' to F. Galton, *The Art of Travel or, Shifts and Contrivances Available in Wild Countries [1872]* (London: Phoenix Press, 2001), i-xvi.

⁶ F. Galton, *Memories of My Life* (London: Methuen, 1908), 169.

‘the experiences of all rude nations, and of as many travellers as [he] could’ during his African travels of 1850-52.⁷ Upon returning to England however, the explorer’s attentions were diverted away from the travellers’ manual towards producing a more conventional narrative for publisher John Murray.⁸ In his memoirs, Galton claimed that he soon after found himself feeling ‘rather unsettled’, longing ‘to undertake a fresh bit of geographical exploration, or even to establish [him]self in some colony’.⁹ However, the explorer instead became immersed in the work of the RGS, actively contributing to the Society’s Council and many committees whilst also taking a keen interest in its publications. From this vantage point, Galton began to look again at developing the volume that would become *The Art of Travel*.¹⁰

Galton consulted colleagues within the Society and began searching through published works in order to supplement the insights provided by his own travels.¹¹ These researches further convinced Galton that ‘narrators have been baffled by difficulties under circumstances which, though unusual to them, are very common to people in other countries’.¹² He envisaged a structure which would allow for a discussion of issues which travellers in a variety of environments would all have to deal with, irrespective of the specificities of the particular circumstances they found themselves in. Thus, Galton constructed chapters discussing water, fire, bivouacking, clothing, cookery, matters of discipline, defence and so on.

It was no small task to compile such a volume. Nonetheless, by January 1855, the first edition of *The Art of Travel, or, Shifts and Contrivances Available in Wild Countries* was ready for publication.¹³ With stocks of the first edition quickly depleted, Murray offered Galton the opportunity to revise the book rather than reprinting what was already in place.¹⁴ The explorer seized this chance to expand many existing chapters, in some cases inserting more detail and in others adding new hints, whilst also adding an index to ensure that readers could quickly locate

⁷ F. Galton, *Arts of Campaigning: An Inaugural Lecture, Delivered at Aldershot, on the Opening of his Museum and Laboratory in the South Camp* (London: John Murray, 1855), Galton Papers, 69, University College London, 11.

⁸ F. Galton, *The Narrative of an Explorer in Tropical South Africa* (London: John Murray, 1853).

⁹ F. Galton, *Memories of My Life*, 160-161.

¹⁰ Galton was awarded the Royal Geographical Society’s Gold Medal in 1852 and elected to the Council in 1854. Galton, *Memories of My Life*, 160-161.

¹¹ Galton, *Memories of My Life*, 162.

¹² Galton, *Arts of Campaigning*, 11.

¹³ F. Galton, *The Art of Travel*, 1855.

¹⁴ Copies Ledger E (1846-1876) John Murray Archive, MS42730, National Library of Scotland, 318, 362, 399,

information on a precise topic of interest. As well as increasing the length of the book, the new material for the second edition in 1856 ensured the work was less biased towards African travel, something Galton highlighted in the preface: 'In [this edition] are included the experiences, not alone of one kind of country, but those of the Bush, the Desert, the Prairie, the Water-side, and the Jungle'.¹⁵ Galton felt that the work's value was now 'greatly increased' and professed to Murray that he was 'far more satisfied with it than [he] should have been if [his] interleaved copy had simply been printed off'.¹⁶

A further opportunity to improve *The Art of Travel* was presented four years later when Murray commissioned the third edition.¹⁷ Unsurprisingly, revision again resulted in expansion. Galton's descriptions became ever more detailed and precise. The chapter on bivouacking, for instance, now contained an analysis of the roominess of particular styles of tents and the appropriateness of different materials that revealed something of Galton's obsession with mathematical puzzles and statistics.¹⁸ However, the arrangement of the book remained by and large the same as that published four years previously.

The fourth edition, published in 1867, was significantly restructured as Galton attempted to incorporate a wealth of insights brought back from the field since 1860. By 1867, Galton revealed, the contents had 'outgrown the system of classification [...] first adopted'. As a result, he explained that it was now 'necessary to recast the last [edition], by cutting it into pieces, sorting it into fresh paragraphs and thoroughly revising the writing – disentangling here and consolidating there'.¹⁹ Despite its increasing size though this re-organisation would mean there was much to recommend the latest edition. The structure was more logical, beginning with a section on 'preparatory enquiries' followed by one on 'organising an expedition' before moving onto the stores that one should take into the field, for instance. Although these chapters were not entirely new in terms of content, the re-arrangement gave the work a different feel, suggesting that it ought to be consulted

¹⁵ F. Galton, *The Art of Travel, or Shifts and Contrivances in Wild Countries*, Second Edition (London: John Murray, 1856), iii.

¹⁶ F. Galton to J. Murray, November 30, 1855, Acc. 12604/1435, John Murray Archive, National Library of Scotland.

¹⁷ 'Estimate Book', John Murray Archive, MS42721, 245

¹⁸ F. Galton, *The Art of Travel, or Shifts and Contrivances in Wild Countries*, Third Edition (London: John Murray, 1860), 55-56.

¹⁹ F. Galton, *The Art of Travel, or Shifts and Contrivances in Wild Countries*, Fourth Edition (London: John Murray, 1867), v.

at length prior to embarking on a journey instead of being a problem-solving guide primarily for use in the field. This structuring would be maintained in future editions with the fifth of 1872 featuring only six extra pages detailing ‘Colomb and Bolton’s flashing signals’.²⁰ Moreover, it was decided that the preface to the fourth edition should simply be reprinted and inserted prior to the main text alongside a short note explaining that despite the addition of the aforementioned material, the new edition did not ‘materially differ from the fourth’.²¹ Indeed, although the work would be reprinted several times in subsequent years, this would be the last time that Galton prepared new material for inclusion.²²

4.2 The Royal Geographical Society and the Art of Exploration

Throughout the publication’s history, Galton appealed for assistance from fellow travellers. In 1855, the first edition invited readers to contribute their own hints as might be included in subsequent editions. By stipulating that any such material must be derived from ‘actual experience’, the author implied that the information included within the present volume had also been gathered through first-hand encounter. Where no other source was given, a reader might reasonably assume that Galton himself had learned the value of a particular practice whilst in the field. Subsequent editions though would require Galton to clarify the extent to which he could be considered an authority on the ‘*The Art of Travel*’. In the 1856 edition, Galton explained that he had returned from Africa with his ‘own stock of experiences [which had] been steadily increased by those of other travellers, which [he had] made a point of re-testing, so far as [he] could find opportunity’.²³ Galton realised that whilst *Tropical South Africa* (1853) might have proven his credentials as a credible voice on African exploration, it did not necessarily make him an authority on travel and exploration more widely. Consequently, he concluded his appeal for ‘remarks, sketches and corrections as would appear [...] likely to add to the value of

²⁰ Galton, *The Art of Travel*, 1856, iv.

²¹ F. Galton, *The Art of Travel, or Shifts and Contrivances in Wild Countries*, Fifth Edition (London: John Murray, 1872), v.

²² In September 1876, 1000 copies were printed. In September 1883 another 1000 copies were made and in September 1893, 750 copies were printed. ‘Copies Ledger G’, (1870-1904) John Murray Archive, MS42732, 301; ‘Copies Ledger H’ (1879-1934) John Murray Archive, MS42733, 201, 246.

²³ Galton, *The Art of Travel*, 1856, iii.

the work' by reiterating the fact that he was 'most anxious to test them thoroughly and to turn them to account'.²⁴

Galton thus positioned himself as an independent examiner whose task was to evaluate suggestions gathered from a wide range of sources. In 1867, for example, he explained, 'I searched through a vast number of geographical works, I sought information from numerous travellers of distinction, and I made a point of re-testing, in every needful case, what I learned or read by hearsay'.²⁵ Thus, 'experience' was not necessarily gained in a far-off location but rather could be attained by replicating and testing a practice at home. However, this line of argument left Galton open to charges of plagiarism. Indeed it was an accusation that he had 'cop[ied] largely from an American book, called 'The Prairie Traveller,' (Figure 4.2) by the then Capt. Randolph B. Marcy' that prompted him to clarify the extent to which he had personal experience of applying the arts detailed in his book.²⁶ The following insertion stands out as an attempt to protect himself from future charges of wrongdoing:

[...] I have been indebted for information to a very large number of authors and correspondents, yet I am sorry to be unable to make any acknowledgements except in comparatively few instances. The fact is that the passages in this book are seldom traceable to distinctly definite sources: commonly more than one person giving me information that partially covers the same subject, and not unfrequently my own subsequent enquiries modifying or enlarging the hints I had received.²⁷

Galton thus claimed his work was valuable not because he had 'discovered' all of the hints and suggestions he offered under treacherous conditions. Rather it was because he compiled, edited and tested material from a wide range of sources. By making this distinction, Galton in effect justified borrowing material from other sources so long as one could show that a practice described elsewhere by another author had been replicated and judged to be useful by someone whose own experience qualified them to do so.

²⁴ Galton, *The Art of Travel*, 1856, iv.

²⁵ Galton, *The Art of Travel*, 1867, liii-iv.

²⁶ F. Galton, *The Art of Travel*, 1867, v-vi.

²⁷ Galton, *The Art of Travel*, 1867, iv.

Learning to Look: Some Hints to Travellers

The debate that Galton entered into regarding the origin of his materials and the extent to which he could be considered an expert in *The Art of Travel* relates to a wider set of concerns revolving around the relationship between observation, credibility and truth. At this time, a number of commercial ventures competed with institutionally-led works like the RGS's *Hints to Travellers* and later the Anthropological Society's *Notes and Queries* in aiming to provide comprehensive guidance on observation in the field.²⁸ These publications, as Felix Driver contends, reflect the fact that there were a number of different visions of what could and should constitute 'scientific travel' at this time.²⁹ Travel brought with it an inevitable problem: whereas research conducted in a laboratory was reasonably easy to replicate and thus verify, research taking place in the field, which was always somewhere 'out there' in the case of exploration, meant that replication and verification were beyond reach for the majority.³⁰ The publication of sets of instructions for travellers, however, could be seen as a possible means of regulating the practice of travel and the collection of data in the field by aiming to ensure that claims to knowledge would at least be based upon evidence gathered through the deployment of a standard set of techniques.

J.R. Jackson's *What to Observe; or, the Traveller's Remembrancer* of 1841 was designed to 'point out to the uninitiated traveller what he should observe, and to remind the one who is well informed, of many objects which, but for a remembrancer might escape him' and aimed to 'excite a desire for useful knowledge by awakening curiosity'.³¹ 'Useful knowledge', in Jackson's eyes, could be obtained from many types of travel but crucially, 'only when travellers shall have learnt how and what to observe'.³² Jackson was not the only author to pursue this line of reasoning. In relation to the 1849 edition of John Herschel's *Manual of Scientific Enquiry* it was noted that members of the Admiralty 'do not consider it necessary

²⁸ On *Notes and Queries* see J. Urry, 'On "Notes and Queries on Anthropology" and the development of field methods in British anthropology, 1870-1920,' *Proceedings of the Royal Anthropological Institute of Great Britain*, (1972), 45-57.

²⁹ F. Driver, *Geography Militant: Cultures of Exploration and Empire* (Oxford: Blackwell, 2001), 49-56.

³⁰ On the relationship between observation, travel and credibility during the nineteenth-century see F. Driver, 'Distance and disturbance: travel, exploration and knowledge in the nineteenth century', *Transactions of the Royal Historical Society*, 14 (2007), 73-92.

³¹ J.R. Jackson, *What to Observe; or, a Traveller's Remembrancer* (London: James Madden and Co., 1841), iii, iv.

³² Jackson, *What to Observe*, iii-iv.

that this manual should be one of very deep and abstruse research. Its directions should not require the use of nice apparatus and instruments; they should be plain so that men merely of good intelligence can act upon them ...'.³³ Each of the essays within Herschel's manual contained advice on how and what to observe but also on how to record information gathered in the field. However, as Driver points out it was not unknown for the advice given by the available manuals to conflict, only raising more questions regarding how field research ought to be conducted and recorded.³⁴ Moreover, as a multitude of fledgling institutions sought to establish themselves and the numbers and range of people participating in so-called scientific travel increased, so too did the anxiety over the degree to which travellers' claims could be trusted.³⁵ This anxiety was heightened by the fact that authors and publishers were increasingly able to target their own guides at a wide range of readers, increasing the number of voices preaching as to what exactly travel should aim to accomplish and how it should be carried out to meet these ends.

Placing *The Art of Travel* alongside the RGS's own attempt to produce instructions for travellers highlights that these concerns had an impact upon both institutional and commercial approaches to educating novices in the ways and means of conducting and recording field research during the mid-nineteenth century. That the RGS should determine to produce their own set of guidelines in the form of *Hints to Travellers* (first published in 1854) is seen by Driver as a direct response to, and an attempt to manage, this problem. The publication evolved out of a series of discussions which followed Galton's request that the Society consider providing 'a formal list of instructions' for travellers.³⁶ As a sub-committee report of 1853 considering the proposal highlights, there was a notable degree of disagreement as to the form such a publication should take but also as to who the intended audience ought to be: 'a few general remarks of an elementary nature, would be superfluous to an individual of moderate attainments, while it could not possibly impart the

³³ J.F.W. Herschel, *A Manual of Scientific Enquiry; Prepared for the Use of Officers in Her Majesty's Navy; and Travellers in General* (London: John Murray, 1849), iii.

³⁴ Driver, *Geography Militant*, 56.

³⁵ Driver, *Geography Militant*, 50-51; F. Driver 'Scientific exploration and the production of geographical knowledge,' *Finisterra*, 33 (1998), 23; D. Outram, 'New spaces in natural history,' in *Cultures of Natural History*, N. Jardine, J.A. Secord and E.C. Spary (eds.) (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1996), 259-265.

³⁶ RGS/AP/54-73 'Committee Minutes', (1841-1865), Royal Geographical Society; RGS/AP/54-73 'Expeditions Committee Minutes', (1852-1853), Royal Geographical Society; JMS/21/20, 'Hints to Travellers' Sub-Committee Report (1853), Royal Geographical Society.

necessary qualifications to one who had no other knowledge of the subject'.³⁷ Moreover, the sub-committee, which included Galton, acknowledged that 'differences prevail among experienced travellers themselves, not merely as to details of observations, the degree of accuracy to which it is advisable to aim, & other matters, but as to whether particular instruments should be carried or not'. It was thus agreed that the Society 'should not lend the authority of its name to the formal publication of such very meagre & elementary matter as fall within the comprehension of persons who do not possess some previous attainments in physical or mathematical science'.³⁸ *Hints to Travellers* therefore needs to be viewed as a compromise between 'the desire of the Council to encourage enterprising individuals in the exploration of unexamined countries' and the perceived need, 'in times of increasing precision in every department of scientific research, to countenance the hasty accumulation of [...] valueless results'.³⁹

Unlike *The Art of Travel*, *Hints to Travellers* did not begin as a stand-alone manual. Instead it consisted of five papers grouped together within the Society's *Journal*.⁴⁰ The essays emphasised the proper use of trustworthy instruments alongside the need to methodically document measurements and observations. Galton's own contribution was a paper discussing the best 'outfit for an explorer' 'in any part of the world, who desired the means of bringing back as good geographical determinations, generally speaking, as explorers over large tracts of land have ever yet succeeded in obtaining'.⁴¹ Whilst the *Hints to Travellers* sub-committee had determined that 'the unscientific and unpractised traveller, must be left to his common sense', Galton clearly felt that the Society had a responsibility to educate novices, addressing his discussion of the instruments that should be used in the field to the 'professedly inexperienced observer'.⁴²

With the initial editions of the both these publications appearing in quick succession, it is logical to conclude that it was perhaps the reluctance of the RGS to

³⁷ JMS/21/20, 'Hints to Travellers' Sub-Committee Report (1853), Royal Geographical Society.

³⁸ JMS/21/20, 'Hints to Travellers' Sub-Committee Report (1853), Royal Geographical Society.

³⁹ JMS/21/20, 'Hints to Travellers' Sub-Committee Report (1853), Royal Geographical Society.

⁴⁰ Driver contends that was an attempt to distinguish *Hints* from other popular guides at the time. Whilst *Hints* as a title reflected the desire to communicate that it was not a formal list of rules it left the door open for the publication to be confused with popular guides bearing similar titles. John Murray, for instance, had only a couple of years earlier published *Hints to Travellers in Portugal*, one of the many guidebooks produced by the firm. Driver, *Geography Militant*, 56.

⁴¹ F. Galton, 'Hints to Travellers', *Journal of the Royal Geographical Society* 24 (1854), 345-6.

⁴² F. Galton, 'Hints to Travellers', 346.

embrace the project of providing instruction for a wide range of travellers that inspired Galton to return to his earlier plan of constructing his own manual. *The Art of Travel* was decidedly less technical in its focus; in fact the only real discussion of using instruments or making observations appeared at the very end of the book where Galton's contribution to the first edition of *Hints to Travellers* was inserted following a brief discussion of how one could draw a route map. Although Galton acknowledged *Hints to Travellers* he offered no real encouragement to readers to seek out the 'parent' publication itself.

However, in the intervening years between the first and fourth editions of *The Art of Travel* the emphasis placed upon the proper use of instruments, accurate observation and standardised documentation shifted significantly. In the 1860 edition of this book, Galton explained that he had included information relating to the instruments necessary to construct a reliable map in order to ensure that his readers could bring back '*really good results*' suggesting that anyone deploying these hints could make a contribution to knowledge.⁴³ Stressing that documenting measurements methodically was key to such a contribution, Galton repositioned his discussion of writing materials after the list of instruments taken from *Hints to Travellers* and also explained the various record books that should be carried to document measurements as well as detailing his own note-taking practices.

In the thoroughly reworked 1867 edition, Galton was able to communicate more clearly how important he now considered the practice of measuring and observing in the field. He now provided three separate chapters covering 'surveying instruments', memoranda and log-books' and 'measurements'. Again Galton's paper from *Hints to Travellers* formed the basis of the section on surveying instruments but the author now made explicit reference to *Hints to Travellers*: 'I strongly recommend travellers to apply for this second edition at the Society's rooms; for it is very much improved, and gives a great deal of information upon instruments, that they would find of real value'.⁴⁴ This not only shows a shift in his feeling towards this particular publication but perhaps also suggests that his own views and those of the RGS more widely, with regard to the extent to which interested novices could be trained to make contributions to geographical knowledge, were beginning to converge.

⁴³ Galton, *The Art of Travel*, 1860, 273 (emphasis in original).

⁴⁴ Galton, *The Art of Travel*, 1867, 24.

There was then a significant relationship between *The Art of Travel* and *Hints to Travellers*. Both publishing projects were driven by a similar but not identical rationale, clearly designed to help regulate the practice of, and knowledge accumulated through travel but they were not necessarily aimed at the same readership: whilst the question of intended audience was always controversial within the RGS, Galton intended his guide for 'all who have to rough it' whether they were uninitiated travellers or experienced explorers. The fact that Galton pursued the publication of *The Art of Travel* suggests a degree of dissatisfaction with the RGS's own contribution to educating travellers. Yet, the relationship between these ventures is more complex than readership alone as the converging focus of the publications over time highlights. Additionally, both projects can be placed within the wider publishing field of instructions for travellers in which intertextuality took concrete forms especially in the shape of authors' borrowings, the business of editing and practises of readership.

Intertextuality and *The Art of Travel*: Randolph B. Marcy and Richard F. Burton

Examining the relationship between Galton's *The Art of Travel* and Randolph B. Marcy's *The Prairie Traveller: A Hand-book of Overland Expeditions* demonstrates the extent to which this publishing field relied upon author-editor-publisher borrowings from existing works. That *The Art of Travel* was reviewed alongside *The Prairie Traveller* has already been remarked upon, with one reviewer suggesting that Galton was guilty of plagiarism.⁴⁵ However, that reviewer was not the only individual to make comparisons between these two works in print. In 1863 Nicholas Trübner published a new edition of *The Prairie Traveller* designed specifically for the English market (Figure 4.2). Explorer Richard F. Burton, who was already highly familiar with *The Art of Travel* having carried a copy of the second edition on his own African travels (Figure 4.3) edited the volume, at Trübner's request, adding additional notes to the text.⁴⁶ The resulting publication demonstrates that both Marcy

⁴⁵ F. Galton, *The Art of Travel*, 1860, vii.

⁴⁶ Richard Burton's annotated copy of *The Art of Travel* is contained within the explorer's library, held by the Huntington Library.

and Burton borrowed material from *The Art of Travel* in preparing specific editions of *The Prairie Traveller*.⁴⁷

That there should be some overlap between the publications is perhaps to be expected given their shared rationale. First published by Harper and Brothers on the authority of the U.S. War Department in 1859,⁴⁸ *The Prairie Traveller* was expressly intended 'to avail [the young traveller] of the matured experience of veteran travellers and thereby avoid many otherwise unforeseen disasters'.⁴⁹ Marcy also shared Galton's wish to encourage a systematic approach to travel, as he explained:

The main object at which I have aimed in the following pages has been to explain and illustrate as clearly and succinctly as possible, the best methods of performing the duties of the prairie traveller, so as to meet their contingencies under all circumstances, and thereby to endeavour to establish a more uniform system of marching and campaigning [...].⁵⁰

The Prairie Traveller therefore included sections dedicated to stores and provisions, water, the selection of a camp, making fires, fuel, and so on. Marcy, like Galton, drew on his own experiences of life in 'the field' and contributions from his contemporaries. Although Marcy's work did diverge from Galton's in at least one important way, with *The Hand-Book of Overland Expedition* living up to its name by also offering discussions of different routes and itineraries, these works clearly had much in common.

Richard Burton evidently thought so and suspected that the English reading public, already assumed to be familiar with *The Art of Travel*, might fail to appreciate Marcy's own contribution to the field of instructions for travellers. As Burton's preface noted, for instance, 'The English reader will be disposed to criticise a book which tells so much of what has been already told, and well told too, in the "*Art of Travel*," by Mr. Francis Galton'.⁵¹ Burton was eager that readers should not overlook the importance of Marcy's contribution however. He reminded readers of

⁴⁷ Burton's edition of *Prairie Traveller* will be discussed only in so far as it relates to *The Art of Travel*, however it should be noted that Burton referenced a number of other guides in his supplementary notes in addition to Galton's manual.

⁴⁸ R. B. Marcy, *The Prairie Traveler. A Hand-Book for Overland Expeditions. With Maps, Illustrations, and Itineraries of the Principal Routes between the Mississippi and Pacific* (New York: Harper and Brothers, 1859). The English edition of 1860 was published by Sampson and Low under the title *The Prairie and Overland Traveller: A Companion for Emigrants, Hunters and Soldiers Traversing Great Plains and Prairies*.

⁴⁹ Marcy, *Prairie and Overland Traveller*, xli.

⁵⁰ Marcy, *Prairie and Overland Traveller*, xli.

⁵¹ R. Burton, 'Editor's Preface' in R.B. Marcy, *The Prairie Traveler. A Hand-Book for Overland Expeditions*, ed. R. Burton, (London: Trübner and Co., 1863), xv.

the fate that had befallen English soldiers in Crimea and asserted that more books of this nature could only help to avoid a similar situation in the future. Clearly sharing the belief of both authors that military education ought to include basic survival training and field crafts, Burton claimed that he 'would rather examine officers in the *Art of Travel* than put them through Roman History or even Latin'.⁵² Thus, despite being employed to bring Marcy to an English audience, Burton was clearly doing much good for Galton's cause too. For instance, even though Marcy discussed a range of different saddles available to the prairie and overland traveller, including a section on European saddles, Burton nevertheless added, 'For information touching saddles of various sorts, packing animals, tethering, hobbling, and knee-haltering, the English reader will refer to Mr. Galton'.⁵³ For those that did not wish to seek out the suggested volume, however, Burton provided his own thoughts on the 'art of packing' alongside a summary of Galton's conclusions. Whilst Galton's calculations appeared to confirm Marcy's suggestion that the loads packed by Spanish Mexicans were extremely large, Burton saw fit to add that Galton 'probably, never saw the Mexican or Californian mule'.⁵⁴ In so doing, Burton rendered both men experts – Galton was the authoritative voice on pack animals used in Africa and Marcy on those he had seen in the American Prairies.

Another example of Burton attempting to manage the differing opinions of Galton and Marcy occurred in relation to the process of jerking meat.⁵⁵ Despite Marcy's evident fondness for the practice, Burton cited Galton's reckoning that 'jerked meat loses about one-half of its nourishing properties'. However, by adding that the nutritional loss could be tempered 'if prepared with "ghi" (melted butter), like the Eastern "kavurmeh"', Burton managed once more to preserve the authority of both authors whilst also offering his own input based on locally acquired knowledge.

Burton though was not afraid of challenging Marcy's assertions. Returning to the theme of saddling animals, Marcy described how Norwegians kept their saddles in place using 'a short round stick, about ten inches long, which passes under the

⁵² Marcy, *The Prairie Traveler*, 29n.

⁵³ Marcy, *The Prairie Traveler*, 60n.

⁵⁴ Marcy, *The Prairie Traveller*, 62n.

⁵⁵ Jerking meat was the process by which meat was cured by cutting it into strips and drying it in the sun.

tail'.⁵⁶ This explanation had appeared previously in the first edition of the Marcy's book and made no mention of Galton despite the fact that an almost identical description had already appeared in *The Art of Travel*.⁵⁷ Marcy could easily have argued, as Galton did in relation to his manual, that such information was widely known and thus there was no need to make reference to that publication in particular. Burton though highlighted that this 'excellent "wrinkle"' had been 'borrowed from the "*Art of Travel*"', once more suggesting to readers that Marcy was indebted to Galton.⁵⁸

For all Burton's praise of *The Art of Travel*, he was not averse to using his editorial space to highlight points on which he and Galton's opinions diverged. For instance, Marcy recommended that travellers ought always to carry a compass and attach it to a buttonhole when travelling in an area without prominent landmarks. He also advised that bearings should be taken 'when facing toward the starting-point, as a landscape presents a very different aspect when viewing it from opposite directions', advice which Burton was full of praise for. However, despite the fact that Marcy had not explicitly raised the issue of navigating oneself using either the stars or the sun, Burton decided to raise the issue himself, insisting, that '[he could not] agree with Mr. Galton, that there is any difficulty in steering oneself by the stars or the sun a fortnight's work will conquer that'.⁵⁹

These examples provide evidence of the intertextual borrowings that characterised many instructions for travellers. Burton drew attention to instances where Marcy offered advice which could also be found in *The Art of Travel* and where the two authors disagreed Burton, as editor, would attempt to mediate, passing judgement on which piece of advice was to be followed in which circumstances. In this way, the 1863 edition of *The Prairie Traveller* provides evidence of Burton's role as editor but also of his response as a reader of both Marcy and Galton's manuals. This particular edition is implicated, largely thanks to Burton, in taking *The Art of Travel* to a wider audience, an audience which had set out to consume *The Prairie Traveller* rather than Galton's own manual. For those that had yet to come across an edition of *The Art of Travel*, this would be their first encounter with the text, and for some perhaps the only encounter. Although Burton directed Marcy's

⁵⁶ Marcy, *The Prairie and Overland Traveller*, 90.

⁵⁷ Galton, *The Art of Travel*, 1855, 130.

⁵⁸ Marcy, *The Prairie Traveler*. 67n.

⁵⁹ Marcy, *The Prairie Traveler*, 116n-118n.

readers to specific passages in *The Art of Travel*, he also provided snapshots of Galton's verdicts on various issues, meaning that the need to seek out the other volume was somewhat negated. For those that had prior knowledge of *The Art of Travel* reading the edited Marcy perhaps encouraged them to think critically about the relationship between these two works as Burton and, to a lesser extent Marcy, had attempted to do.

It was not only within the 1863 edition of *The Prairie Traveller* that Marcy and Galton's texts were brought together. *The Reader: A Review of Literature, Science and the Arts*, a weekly periodical published by Trübner and Co. in which Galton had a significant stake also carried a review of Marcy's book which Galton himself authored.⁶⁰ In it the explorer noted that he was 'glad indeed to observe an amendment in the volume in its present form', complaining that the previous edition 'made the scantiest acknowledgements of an English volume "*The Art of Travel*" from which many passages are plagiarised and numerous quotations copied'. Moreover, whilst Burton's 'English conscience' was praised, Galton remained unsatisfied that many 'extracted passages remain[ed] unidentified' but nevertheless took heart from the fact that the editor 'testifies adequately, in his short preface and in his foot-notes to the general indebtedness of the "*Prairie Traveller*" to the work in question'.⁶¹ Galton therefore used his review, to argue that Marcy's plagiarism and Burton's apparent embarrassment at this injustice demonstrated the quality of *The Art of Travel*, ensuring that readers gained as much information about his own book as they did *The Prairie Traveller*. That Galton himself authored this review in another Trübner publication again emphasises the way that authors, publishers and editors were tied into broader networks of production and promotion which were crucial to the success of instructions to travellers.

Cutting and Pasting *The Art of Travel*: James Collins' 'Notes of Travel'

A scrapbook compiled by the economic botanist James Collins during the latter half of the nineteenth-century which survives in the Galton archive at UCL provides further evidence of how travellers sought to combine the advice offered by several different instructional guides, including *The Art of Travel*. Although he is not as well

⁶⁰ F.G. 'The Prairie Traveller', *The Reader*, 10 (1863), 237-8; Galton Papers 119/1-2, University College London.

⁶¹ F.G. 'The Prairie Traveller', *The Reader*, 10 (1863), 237.

known today as Burton or Galton, Collins was nevertheless part of a privileged scientific network. Curator of the Museum of the Pharmaceutical Society of Great Britain and Fellow of the Edinburgh Botanical Society, he was involved in investigations into the viability of commercial rubber production in India, corresponding with numerous travellers in the Amazon region and making regular visits to London's dockyards in order to gain relevant information.⁶² After preparing a series of articles which presented an argument in support of establishing production in India, he was commissioned to produce a report on the subject on behalf of the India Office. Collins subsequently undertook researches in the Peruvian Amazon for the British government and later went on to become Government Botanist in Singapore until 1877.⁶³

During the 1870s, Collins compiled his own set of instructions for travellers, an unpublished scrapbook containing excerpts from books, articles, lectures, pamphlets and advertisements alongside handwritten annotations and personal reflections (Figure 4.4). Whether *Notes of Travel*, as Collins christened his work, was intended to assist Collins on his own travels, or those collecting botanical specimens on his behalf, is unclear. However, this volume demonstrates how the botanist created his own instruction manual by collating, extracting and rearranging published materials, literally cutting and pasting in order to create a new work. Although larger and more unwieldy than *The Art of Travel*, the format of Collins' scrapbook reflected its intended function. By collecting the most relevant works together into a single collection, Collins could hope to limit the number of volumes that he might otherwise need to refer to. Indeed it appears that Collins drew inspiration from other publications as to the physical construction of the work making notes on the back of his own contents page which strongly resembled advice that the *New Sporting Magazine* had recommended to owners of *The Art of Travel*:

Suggestions being the staple of this publication, and also invited, we shall, in concluding our notice, advise purchasers to order a dozen blank leaves to be appended, and a strong leathern cover to fit it with a deep fitting lappet to be put to it, pockets inside being not forgotten, and it will then be perfectly fit and serviceable as a "vade mecum," an oil-skin

⁶² W. Dean, *Brazil and the Struggle for Rubber* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2002), 11.

⁶³ P.J.S. Dramer and D. Prain, 'The introduction of Para to Buitenzorg' *Bulletin of Miscellaneous Information (Royal Gardens, Kew)* 4 (1914), 162-165; J. Loadman, *Tears of the Tree: The Story of Rubber: A Modern Marvel* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2005); H.L. Terry, *India-Rubber and Its Manufacture, with Chapters on Gutta-Percha and Balata* (London: Archibald Constable and Co., 1907).

wrapper in one of the pockets, as a protector against rain or immersion.⁶⁴

Meanwhile, Collins' own notes read,

'Travellers' Vade Mecum. Clothes, tools, natural history & general Stores & apparatus. New expensive cover for this book & bind it in the same "index" with fresh leaves inserted. The cover with lappets to wrap inside of a large pocket all to be made out of solid leather. This kind of binding would do well for loose note books & a machine to hold [tapes] whilst binding should be made.⁶⁵

It is reasonable to suggest that Collins may have been a reader of the *Sporting Gazette* on account of his apparent interest in collecting animal skins. Yet, even if the similarity is only coincidental, here we find evidence of authors attempting to respond to the practical difficulties associated with note-taking in the field: both Collins and Galton clearly understood that it was not content alone that rendered a manual useful.⁶⁶ Furthermore, following an accumulation strategy that echoed Galton's in many ways, Collins appears to have mined some of the most prominent books of travel and travel-instruction of the day seeking hints and tips that might aid his travels. Thus, the *Admiralty Manual*, *Hints to Travellers*, *The Art of Travel*, *Marcy's Overland Expeditions*, *Skearry's Wrinkles* and *Lord's At Home in the Wilderness* are all listed in the contents page. However, Collins also made use of a number of works not intended explicitly for the use of travellers such as Garnet Wolseley's *Soldier's Pocket Book for Field Service*, and Alexander Gordon's *Manual of Sanitation*. A great number many more publications were also referenced in the course of the manual. Rather than discussing the merits of each of these publications in turn as a reviewer might, Collins replicated the approach demonstrated by Galton and many of the other authors in his list of included works. He thus attempted to codify the materials he collected and established a system into which additional material could easily be slotted. Some publications fitted neatly into particular sections but more often than a not a single work was referenced several times in relation to various different arts of travel. Thus, *Notes of Travel*

⁶⁴ 'The *Art of Travel*; or Shifts and Contrivances Available in Wild Countries', *New Sporting Magazine* (1868), 227.

⁶⁵ J. Collins, 'Notes of Travel' (1871) Galton Papers 114, University College London.

⁶⁶ On travellers' notebooks see M. Bourguet, 'A portable world: the notebooks of European travellers (eighteenth to nineteenth centuries)', *Intellectual History Review* 20 (2010), 377-400.

included sections dedicated to 'general remarks', 'outfit & stores', 'clothing', 'bedding', 'cooking', 'medicine', and so on.

It is evident that Collins was familiar with Galton's work for both *Hints to Travellers* and *The Art of Travel*. The 1871 edition of *Hints* which Galton edited with Back is inserted in its entirety into Collins' volume; however it is done so in a way which was not intended by either of its authors. Pages 7-12 appeared amongst a range of other works which made reference to the instruments that a traveller ought to carry into the field. Between each sheet, Collins interleaved blank ones which he used to add additional references and comments. Thus, next to printed descriptions of sextants, for instance, we find Collins' handwritten reference to *Shifts and Contrivances of Camp Life* by Lord and Baines, drawing attention to Captain George's 'double box sextant' which is not mentioned by Galton and Back.⁶⁷ On the same page there is also a sketch of the 'portable observatory' made by Casella for Baines', which again is not mentioned in *Hints*.⁶⁸ Collins used the space between the printed sheets to include information that Galton and Back had omitted, supplementing information within the text. Thus, Collins added an advert for Casella's Pocket Altazimuth 'which had been improved and modified by the kind assistance of Francis Galton Esq., F.R.S'. after the piece from *Hints to Travellers*, adding significant information to the discussion of various Altazimuth instruments. Whilst there was only room within the confines of *Hints* to mention in passing the relative merits of the apparatus sold by different instrument makers, Casella's own adverts detailed a description of their product complete with a clearly labelled illustration, as well as directions for use, comments regarding the degree of accuracy one could expect and a discussion of 'index and errors'. At the top of the advert, Collins added a scribbled note further noting that 'This instrument is now made with one lens to the Eye piece instead of two D + E & has a telescope for observing the object ... price 5.10.0'. This highlights that Galton's work not simply read alongside published guides in various forms but also more ephemeral material like advertising pamphlets.

⁶⁷ J. Collins, 'Notes of Travel' (1871) Galton Papers 114, University College London; W.B. Lord and T. Baines, *Shifts and Expedients of Camp Life, Travel and Exploration* (London: Horace Cox, 1871), 27-28.

⁶⁸ J. Collins, 'Notes of Travel' (1871) Galton Papers 114, University College London; Lord and Baines, *Shifts and Expedients of Camp Life*, 29.

Collins clearly valued *The Art of Travel* but rather than providing long extracted passages he more often jotted down a note reminding him to 'see Galton' alongside the relevant page number. This was the case when Collins considered the particular types of log books one ought to carry, when he needed to know the weights of the stores he intended to take or when he wanted further information on boats, for instance. It was clear in this sense that *The Art of Travel* would very much be a companion volume to be read in conjunction with his own. Thus although Collins clearly considered that *Hints to Travellers*, *The Art of Travel* and many other instructional works ought to be 'read' together, he developed his own strategies for organising and working with the knowledge that each sought to impart. Whereas the previous discussion of the connections between Marcy's *The Prairie Traveller* and *The Art of Travel* highlighted author-editor-publisher borrowings, Collins provides an alternative example of the concrete forms that intertextuality can take, literally cutting and pasting in order to create a new text.

4.3 Model Soldiers: the Art of Campaigning

Examining the role that *The Art of Travel* played in developing perceptions and practices of expeditionary travel during the mid-nineteenth century reveals one facet of the life of this text. However, to understand more fully how this work shaped alternative understandings and modes of travel, it is necessary to consider how it was prepared for, and presented to, a wider set of audiences. Certainly Galton himself was keen that the work should be viewed as a 'manual for all those who may have to "rough it"'⁶⁹ and not just those undertaking 'scientific travel'. The Crimean War made public just how fragile the Army supply chain was but also highlighted the inability of soldiers to fend for themselves when the situation demanded. Those posted to the front endured severe deprivations as a result of extreme weather conditions and a lack of provisions, with many succumbing to the effects of malnutrition and disease.⁷⁰ Whilst similar fates had befallen British regiments in the past, the sufferings of the Crimean War were brought home to the British public with a degree of immediacy hitherto unachievable. As Markovits asserts, 'to an unprecedented degree, the experience of the Crimean War was filtered through print

⁶⁹ Galton, *The Art of Travel*, 1855, iii; Galton, *The Art of Travel*, 1856, iv.

⁷⁰ For a fuller discussion of the breakdowns in support services see J. Sweetman, 'Ad hoc' support services during the Crimean War, 1854-6: temporary, ill-planned and largely unsuccessful', *Military Affairs*, 52 (1988): 135-140.

– not just after the fact as with past wars, when poets, novelists, and historians took up their pens to memorialize the experience, but in real time and by an extraordinary range of writers’.⁷¹ The telegraph proved a vital technology in linking the front line at Sevastopol to command centres back in London and Paris⁷² and enabled print to become implicated in the communication of knowledge from the battlefield in ways which had hitherto not been possible. Many newspaper publishers and their editors sent ‘special correspondents’ to the Crimea so that they could return news of operations as they unfolded. Yet, reporters did not just concentrate upon military manoeuvres, often relaying information regarding the welfare of the troops. *The Times*’ reporter, William Howard Russell, proved particularly adept at mobilizing public opinion, reporting from Sevastopol on the disease ravaged and ill-equipped troops who had found themselves unable to cope when supply lines broke down.⁷³ Despite the best efforts of the War Office to discredit and contradict Russell’s reports, the fact that the newspapers and other periodicals had combined accounts of journalists like Russell with letters received from soldiers at the front, as well those of concerned individuals at home, ensured that the government was regularly blamed for the ill-preparedness of the soldiers rather than the troops themselves.⁷⁴ As a commentator in *Household Words* was moved to remark, for instance, ‘The English soldier is taught – disciplined – to be helpless’.⁷⁵

Such concern was noteworthy given that the Victorian reading public had shown relatively little interest in the well-being of its soldiers until these events unfolded.⁷⁶ Much of this prior disregard reflected the lowly social status of the common soldier. As Branco notes, ‘Generally forced into the Army by starvation and unemployment, the soldier represented the lowest segment of the population. [...]

⁷¹ S. Markovits, ‘Rushing into print: “participatory journalism” during the Crimean War’, *Victorian Studies*, 50 (2008), 460.

⁷² K. G. Beauchamp, *History of Telegraphy* (Institution of Engineering and Technology, Edison, N.J.: Institute of Engineering and Technology, 2001), 105-108.

⁷³ N.M. Houston, ‘Reading the Victorian Souvenir: Sonnets and Photographs of the Crimean War’, *The Yale Journal of Criticism*, 14 (2001), 362-3, 371-3.

⁷⁴ Of course, the printed press was not the only medium through which coverage of the Crimean War was mediated. As well exhibitions of photographs by Fenton and others there were a series of public displays, dioramas and so on designed to evoke and capitalise upon the public response to the situation at Sevastopol in particular. Houston, ‘Reading the Victorian Souvenir’: 353-383.

⁷⁵ ‘Traveller’s contrivances’, *Household Words: A Weekly Journal Conducted by Charles Dickens*, 12 (1856), 505.

⁷⁶ Houston ‘Reading the Victorian Souvenir’: 354; R. L. Branco, ‘Education Reforms for the Enlisted Man in the Army of Victorian England’, *History of Education Society* 6, (1966), 63.

the enlisted man had a pitiful existence'.⁷⁷ Yet, media coverage helped to evoke more compassionate attitudes towards these hitherto overlooked individuals.⁷⁸

Galton's School of Instruction: The Arts of Travelling and Campaigning

This shift in the broad public perceptions helps to contextualise Galton's personal response to the unfolding war. Reflecting in later life about the conflict, he asserted 'The outbreak of the Crimean War showed the helplessness of our soldiers in the most elementary matters of camp-life' and went on to explain, 'Believing that something could be done by myself towards removing this extraordinary and culpable ignorance, I offered to give lectures on the subject, gratuitously'.⁷⁹

Evidently, Galton's claim that he was qualified to advise the military on field conduct on the grounds that 'matters bearing upon this question have been my special study in extended travel, so far as to have induced me to write upon them, quite irrespectively of the present war' convinced then Prime Minister Lord Palmerston as arrangements were made so that lectures could commence later that summer at the recently established training camp at Aldershot.⁸⁰ Between July and September 1855 he gave fifteen lectures dedicated to topics including 'methods and materials used for lighting fires in the field', 'procuring water', and 'comfort and shelter in the bivouac', before returning after Christmas to reoffer the same course, although now condensed into eight lectures (Figure 4.5).⁸¹ Whilst Galton made clear that he intended to 'follow part of the very same ground that [he had] gone over in the "*Art of Travel*"' he also identified the need to pass over topics which were 'special to the wants of a private traveller'.⁸² Additionally, although Galton had keenly noted that he would 'embrace the opportunity of putting what had been scattered over many pages of writing at different times, into the present condensed

⁷⁷ Blanco, 'Education Reforms', 63.

⁷⁸ Houston, 'Reading the Victorian Souvenir':354, 371; O. Anderson, 'The growth of Christian militarism in Mid-Victorian Britain', *The English Historical Review* 86 (1971), 46, 49.

⁷⁹ F. Galton, *Memories of My Life*, 164.

⁸⁰ F. Galton, *Ways and Means of Campaigning [Printed for Private Circulation]*, London: T. Brettell, 4 May, 1855, Galton Papers 69, University College London. The circular is not explicitly addressed to Lord Palmerston although in his autobiography, Galton claims that he wrote directly to Palmerston after the War Office failed to reply. Given the following statement it is reasonable to assert, as Karl Pearson also does, that the approach was made in the form of the circular: 'I must observe, that I send this Circular as a private communication, and to no large numbers of persons'. Galton, *Memories of My Life*, 164; K. Pearson, *The Life and Letters of Francis Galton II: Researches in Middle Life*, (London: Cambridge University Press, 1930), 14, 2n.

⁸¹ 'Arts of Travelling and Campaigning' [Advertisement] (London: T. Brettell, Haymarket, 1856), Galton Papers 69, University College London.

⁸² Galton, *Ways and Means of Campaigning*.

and legible form' he afterwards revealed that it had taken a significant effort to 'frame a suitable course of practical instruction and of lectures for those who cared to benefit from them'.⁸³

Galton's reference to the need to frame his course adequately related not only to the necessity of condensing his material but also to the need to present it in an engaging way that would facilitate learning most effectively. He began his inaugural lecture by explaining *why* his association with *The Art of Travel* qualified him to 'teach those Arts and Contrivances which stand the soldier in stead when military organisation fails to help him', noting that unlike soldiers who were taught to depend upon 'the system', travellers could only rely upon their own skills and local environment for their survival.⁸⁴ Yet Galton cautioned that it was not true that 'any person who has once roughed it becomes proficient in the art of campaigning'. Instead, he insisted that one needed to acquire knowledge of a range of different environments, something which he assured his audience he had done through compiling *The Art of Travel*.⁸⁵

Galton though, was clear in his mind that spoken lectures alone would not dramatically improve the abilities of troops to fend for themselves in the field. If regiments around the country were encouraged to undertake similar courses of instruction as he hoped, the material would need to be suitable for all ranks of men and whilst officers could be expected to be literate, lower-ranked soldiers often struggled in this department.⁸⁶ Moreover, whilst simply listening to Galton's lectures did not require proficiency in reading or writing, these skills would certainly aid comprehension. As a retired Major testified in relation to Army lectures more broadly in this period,

Without diagrams and illustrations lectures are of little use as a means of teaching, for the mind cannot always carry away the facts and arguments of the speaker. This if true of university and medical students, and educated people who attend literary institutions, is still more applicable to the private soldier, who, in too many cases, does not absolutely understand the language spoken to him. He must be

⁸³ Galton, *Memories of My Life*, 164.

⁸⁴ Galton, *Arts of Campaigning*, 4, 9.

⁸⁵ Galton, *Arts of Campaigning*, 10-12.

⁸⁶ Council of Military Education, *First Report by the Council of Military Education on Army Schools, Libraries, and Recreation Rooms*, XXXVII (c.2957) (London: HMSO, 1862).

addressed through a different medium. [...] pictures are his best instructors.⁸⁷

Galton seemingly shared this conviction, preparing a series of diagrams and demonstrations to accompany his spoken text (Figure 4.6). Furthermore, he was adamant that he wished to ‘convey knowledge and manual dexterity, for neither without the other will ever be of much avail’ and so set up both a museum and laboratory to complement his talks.⁸⁸ The museum consisted of a set of sketches accompanied by explanatory notes, as well as a set of reference works while the laboratory was a space in which Galton hoped ‘learners might teach themselves’. It was essentially a workshop where the ‘motley stock of very simple tools and raw materials, planks, logs, twigs, canvas, cloths, and every single thing necessary for making with the hand’ that Galton had used to illustrate his talks was stored (Figure 4.6 contains an extract from the catalogue of the collection). For Galton, it was important that soldiers trialled and perfected arts of campaigning for themselves, believing that practical experience was vital to complete the work that the lectures had begun. Galton understood that working ‘in the field’ presented specific challenges that book learning could not convey and encouraged his students to work outdoors, explaining that ‘In the palisadoed plot of ground, between the huts, you can sit and work just as roughly as you would in the Crimea’.⁸⁹ Moreover, Galton encouraged the soldiers to

write to your friends from the Crimea, or from the bush, who take an interest in these things, get hints of original experiences from them, communicate them to me; they will not lie idle, but will at once be turned to account in increasing a store already large, and will remain recorded in pictures or in models for the good of ourselves and all who follow us.⁹⁰

Thus, Galton aimed to turn ‘helpless’ soldiers into experts who could pass their newly acquired knowledge onto others. By praising the value of the contributions that those currently serving abroad could offer, and asking soldiers to undertake the same kind of research that he had done prior to the publication of *The Art of Travel*,

⁸⁷ Retired Major Marksman ‘Peeps from the loopholes of retreat’ *Colburn’s United Service Magazine, and Naval and Military Journal* (1859), 580.

⁸⁸ Galton, *Arts of Campaigning*, 13.

⁸⁹ Galton, *Arts of Campaigning*, 15.

⁹⁰ Galton, *Arts of Campaigning*, 22.

Galton acknowledged the limits of his own knowledge and once more demonstrated an eagerness to add to, and test out, that which already formed the basis of his book.

The Arts of Campaigning on Tour: In Person and In Print

Certainly, the time spent at Aldershot offered as many opportunities to Galton as it did the troops he worked with. The school of instruction not only allowed Galton to physically reshape the content of *The Art of Travel* (condensing twenty-five chapters into a short lecture series) but also to explore different methods of presenting that material, through talks, diagrams, displays and demonstrations. Additionally, his work in Aldershot fostered connections beyond the camp, enabling him to develop this face of *The Art of Travel* even further. After concluding his work in the camp, Galton presented two lectures from his series before the United Service Institute at Whitehall. Although the *Times* reported that much interest was shown from the assembled audience, the *Quarterly Review* later revealed that Galton ‘went to the museum of the United Service Club at the hour advertised, but as his audience amounted to but one soldier he discontinued his efforts to make known those wrinkles he had acquired with so much suffering himself’.⁹¹ Despite attempts by Galton to present material which was of particular relevance to the military in ways which would prove engaging and instructive, it appears he misjudged his audience.

However, one did not necessarily have to attend one of Galton’s lectures in order to know of them. A selection of newspaper reports, including those of *The Times*, offered second-hand accounts of Galton’s performances, describing both the content of his lectures and his teaching methods. Coverage of these lectures likely did much to promote sales of *The Art of Travel*, with the book receiving as much coverage as his lectures in some instances. In this sense these ‘news items’ acted in much the same way as reviews did.⁹² Although the lectures received much praise from the reporters that attended them, they did not receive widespread coverage by any means. Yet there were further outlets for Galton’s work on the ways and means of campaigning, as John Murray, perhaps hoping to stimulate interest in the second set of lectures, published two hundred and fifty copies of the inaugural talk shortly after the first set of lectures concluded. For six shillings, a copy of the opening

⁹¹ ‘Lodgings, Food, and Dress of Soldiers’, *Quarterly Review*, 105 (1859), 163.

⁹² ‘Arts of Campaigning’, *Cottager’s Monthly Visitor*, 36 (1856); ‘The Arts of Travelling and Campaigning’ *The Times*, September 25, 1855, 9.

lecture detailing the rationale behind the course, its aims, methods and an outline of its content could be obtained.⁹³ It is worth noting that Murray went to the expense of publishing the lecture on 'very stout paper' perhaps suggesting that the piece was expected either to pass through multiple hands, possibly as some kind of reference text, or that it was likely to be used in conditions that demanded hard-wearing materials, such as the military training field.⁹⁴

The *Saturday Review* provided a commentary that focused on *The Art of Travel* and *Arts of Campaigning* highlighting that the lecture published by Murray was read by an audience beyond the camp and, moreover, proved an important means of informing people of what Galton was attempting to institute at Aldershot. Quoting extensively from the inaugural lecture, the reviewer seconded Galton's faith that the arts of travel could and should be taught to all regiments as the Crimean situation so graphically demonstrated. Much was made of Galton's method of instruction and also of the fact that 'his remarks do not apply to officers only, but that all ranks will have an opportunity afforded them of learning useful arts and contrivances'. However, seemingly aware that the lectures had failed to attract a significant crowd – with lectures rarely attracting more than fifteen men at a time – the reviewer expressed a hope 'that the second experiment, made under more favourable auspices, i.e. with more leisure from field duties on the part of the officers and men, and greater experience in lecturing on Mr Galton's part – will be as successful as it deserves to be'.⁹⁵ Whilst the activities at Aldershot were the primary focus of the *Saturday Review's* piece, mention was also made of *The Art of Travel* which, it was noted, would be of interest to 'any one who is of a Robinson Crusoe turn of mind'. However, the reviewer was firmly focused on the work's relevance to military education and concluded by claiming that 'if copies of the book were liberally supplied to regiments ordered out on foreign service, especially in rough countries, many a life might be saved'.⁹⁶ Thus, although the reviewer had emphasised how important it was that Galton was instructing the arts of campaigning

⁹³ 'The camp at Aldershot', *Daily News*, (August 9, 1855), 8; 'The camp of Aldershot', *Examiner* (August 11, 1855), 511.

⁹⁴ 'Copies Day Book' (1853-1857): 215 John Murray Archive, MS 42899, National Library of Scotland.

⁹⁵ 'Arts of Travel and Campaigning', *Saturday Review of Politics, Literature, Science and Art*, 1 (11) (1856), 197-98.

⁹⁶ 'Arts of Travel and Campaigning', *Saturday Review of Politics, Literature, Science and Art*, 1, (11) (1856), 198.

using a variety of different methods, it was nevertheless felt that the book could also achieve the same end.

Although Galton's lectures ceased in 1856, his role in the education of soldiers continued beyond his time at Aldershot. In July 1857, for instance, he was requested to provide the War Office with ten sets of the models and specimens which he had used to illustrate the arts of camp life.⁹⁷ A set, probably containing the materials that had been stored in the Aldershot laboratory had already been presented to the Royal Artillery Institution at Woolwich and it was perhaps seeing this set in use that led to Secretary Major General Peel's request for a further ten sets to be issued at a cost of one hundred and thirty seven pounds, six shillings. Henry Hardinge, writing on behalf of Peel, praised 'the taste and ingenuity evinced by [Galton] in the construction of [the] models' and revealed that he had been instructed to assure Galton that they 'would prove of great benefit to the service' suggesting that they might be destined for other training centres.⁹⁸ Moreover, the inclusion of a catalogue with each set that detailed not only contents but how certain specimens might be used made it possible for Galton's teachings to continue without the involvement of Galton himself. Certainly Lieutenant Colonel James Alexander, whose regiment served in the Crimea between May 1855 and June 1856, encouraged young soldiers especially to seek out Galton's models and specimen's held at the Royal Artillery Institution, claiming in his memoirs that they were 'well worth examining carefully'.⁹⁹

⁹⁷In addition to those ordered by the War Office, Galton had a further set made for the South Kensington Museum (now the Victoria and Albert Museum). This set formed part of the Special Loan Collection of Scientific Apparatus and was exhibited in 1876 within a sub-collection of 'Maps, Globes and Miscellaneous Objects' (item number 3201). In 1914 E. Wheeler Galton presented a set (probably those previously held by the Kensington Museum) to the Royal Geographical Society who displayed the models within their museum but what happened to them from here remains unclear.

Catalogue of the Special Loan Collection of Scientific Apparatus at the South Kensington Museum. Third Edition, (London: George E. Eyre and William Spottiswoode, for Her Majesty's Stationary Office, 1877), 802; Royal Geographical Society, *The Museum*, unpublished catalogue, c.1914, 19.

⁹⁸ H. Hardinge to F. Galton, July 12, 1855, Galton Papers 69, University College London.

⁹⁹ J.E. Alexander, *Passages in the Life of a Soldier, or, Military Service in the East and West*. Volume II, (London: Hurst and Blackett, 1857), 303; J.E. Alexander to Norton Shaw, 10 August 1856, Fellows' Correspondence, Royal Geographical Society; E. M. Lloyd, 'Alexander, Sir James Edward (1803-1885)', rev. James Lunt, *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, Oxford University Press, 2004.

An Ongoing Concern: Arts of Campaigning and *The Art of Travel*

Returning to *The Art of Travel* itself, it is clear that Galton's time at Aldershot had a tangible impact upon the material within and marketing of subsequent editions of the book. The preface to the 1856 edition, for instance, described Galton's involvement at the camp and his desire that all soldiers should become proficient in the techniques he described.¹⁰⁰ Moreover, the 1856 edition also provides a visual record of the kinds of diagrams and displays he used with soldiers. The newly extended chapter on water, for instance, was accompanied by an illustration of the apparatus required to distil putrid water. The engraving, the text revealed, was based upon a sketch of a model that Galton had constructed using a soldier's mess tin.¹⁰¹ The same could also be said of diagrams on page 56 describing stitches which could be used to make plait mats and roofs. In the accompanying text, Galton wrote,

Soldiers might be trained to a great deal of hutting practice, [...] if they were drilled at putting together huts whose roofs and walls were made of planks lashed together by this simple stitch, and whose supports were short scaffolding poles dug, as explained (p.9) without spades or anything but the hand and a small stick.¹⁰²

Whilst Galton's lectures concluded shortly after the 1856 volume was published, and the prefatory notice of his role in military instruction was removed in time for the 1860 edition, these illustrations and the text that accompanied them provided a lasting reminder of this association within the main body of the book.

Certainly there is evidence that *The Art of Travel* continued to be considered as an important contribution to military education beyond 1856. A reviewer for the *Quarterly Review* examined the 1856 edition of *The Art of Travel* as part of a broader consideration of the 'lodgings, food and dress of soldiers' published in 1859.¹⁰³ Positioned alongside were three texts which had conditions in the British Army as their primary focus and James Ranald Martin's *The Influence of Tropical Climates on European Constitutions*, *The Art of Travel* was described as 'one of the most interesting little volumes [the reviewer had] ever read' with the reviewer claiming that it 'should be in the hands of every campaigner, whether military or otherwise'. The book was explicitly connected to Galton's lectures at the United

¹⁰⁰ Galton, *The Art of Travel*, 1856, iii-iv.

¹⁰¹ Galton, *The Art of Travel*, 1856, 219.

¹⁰² Galton, *The Art of Travel*, 1856, 8, 56.

¹⁰³ 'Lodgings, food, and dress of Soldiers', 162-3.

Service Club and the events of the Crimea with the author of the review coming to the conclusion that 'Had our soldiers been acquainted with its content when our commissariat broke down, they would have been able to lighten their miseries in a considerable degree'.¹⁰⁴ The reviewer claimed that Galton's lecture series had in fact been the basis for the manual but cautioned that the presence of the work within regimental libraries would not be enough to guarantee its widespread uptake by soldiers as 'The recruit from the agricultural districts will not read such volumes as generally form the bulk of these collections'.¹⁰⁵ Thus although the reviewer had wrongly assumed that the lecture series gave rise to the book, both he and Galton shared the belief that for such material to have an impact, it would have to be presented in ways which accounted for the specific strengths and weaknesses of the target audience.

4.4 The Art of Travel and John Murray's Handbook Series

Placing *The Art of Travel* within the context of developments in expeditionary travel and military campaigning furthers our understanding of two faces of Galton's manual, revealing that the publication both shaped, and was shaped by, attempts by the RGS and British Army to develop a more systematic approach to field conduct. The present section attempts to place *The Art of Travel* within a third context, namely that of middle-class tourism. Whilst biographers regularly nod to Galton's involvement in the production of tourist literature, few scholars have sought to locate *The Art of Travel* within this genre, despite the fact that John Murray was almost synonymous with the guidebook in this context. This omission is problematic if Lister is correct in asserting that books such as *The Art of Travel* 'were published as "Companions to the Handbooks," for the edification of the same inquiring, intelligent, and discerning Victorian minds as required (if not actually demanded and depended upon) the detailed and accurate information contained in the handbooks themselves'.¹⁰⁶ This section examines the contribution that Galton made to mid-Victorian tourist literature, drawing connections between the form, content and marketing of specific editions of *The Art of Travel* and particular volumes of Murray's Handbook series.

¹⁰⁴ 'Lodgings, food, and dress of Soldiers', 162-3.

¹⁰⁵ 'Lodgings, food, and dress of Soldiers', 162-3.

¹⁰⁶ W.B.C. Lister, *A Guide to the Microfiche Edition of Murray's Handbooks for Travellers. With an Introduction by J.R. Gretton* (University Publications of America, 1993), lii.

Although Galton did not compile *The Art of Travel* with the Continental tourist in mind, John Murray clearly thought that there was something to be gained from advertising the work as part of his *Handbook* series throughout the summer and autumn touring seasons. In July 1855 adverts began to appear for the *Handbook to The Art of Travel – Being Hints and Suggestions Available in Wild Countries* (Figure 4.8).¹⁰⁷ The re-wording of the title marks an obvious effort to present the work to a wider audience. Moreover, by presenting *The Art of Travel*, as part of the *Handbook* series, this and similar adverts placed by the publisher conveyed the impression that the manual had been constructed *for* the series, and thus, it would be expected to follow the same conventions in terms of both form and content. Yet, there is no evidence that steps were taken to materially alter the work for the tourist market at this point and while customers might set out in search of *Hints and Suggestions* they would find only *Shifts and Contrivances*.

Moreover, those expecting a Murray Handbook might also be surprised to find a Galton book. In order to protect the integrity of the Handbook brand, each guide was published without attributing authorship or editorship to a named individual. Thus, although a note from the editor could be inserted prior to the main title page, and the preface could make reference to ‘experienced editors’ who had helped to revise particular guides, ultimately the integrity of the work depended on the name of John Murray. Thus, it was rare to see the ‘Handbook of *The Art of Travel*’ advertised either in its own right or as being authored by Francis Galton. One of the few adverts in which Murray used the alternative name for *The Art of Travel* but did attribute authorship to Galton, appeared not in connection with other Murray *Handbooks* but rather another publication by Galton. Thus, a catalogue entitled *Mr Murray’s Recent Works* dated October 1855 placed an advert for the *Handbook* alongside one for *Arts of Campaigning; Lecture Delivered to the Camp at Aldershot*. However, the advert in question did not entirely break the association with the Murray’s guides, for as well as the use of the alternative title, the advertisement contained a quote from the *Literary Gazette* noting that ‘For travellers and emigrants the book will have a

¹⁰⁷ E.g. ‘Murray’s handbooks for travellers’, *Daily News* (July 10, 1855), 8; ‘Murray’s handbooks for travellers’, *Daily News* (July 21, 1855), 8; ‘Murray’s handbooks for travellers’, *Caledonian Mercury* (August 17, 1855), 8; ‘Murray’s handbooks for travellers’, *Caledonian Mercury* (August 24, 1855), 1.

permanent value, and will be found a useful supplement to Murray's Handbooks'.¹⁰⁸ Thus, although making it clear that *The Art of Travel* was not a *Murray Handbook per se*, the note nevertheless reduced Galton's attempt at systematising travel, using contributions from some of the most eminent travellers of the day to 'a useful supplement'.

Whether Murray's attempts to position Galton's manual alongside the established Handbook series proved an effective marketing strategy is open to question. Whilst subsequent editions were not heavily promoted within periodical advertisements for the Handbook series, the publisher did not cease his attempts to align *The Art of Travel* with his guidebooks entirely. The third edition of 1860, for instance, was promoted within the annual 'Murray's Handbook Advertiser' of 1861 which was inserted in several Handbooks and contained information regarding products, services and publications which might appeal to those travelling within Britain or Continental Europe.¹⁰⁹ Moreover, a number of other periodical advertisements contained material extracted from reviews which directly alluded to the utility of Galton's guide as an accompaniment to the guidebooks. A notice placed within the *Reader* of May 1863, for instance, used material from the *Leader*, *Athenaeum*, *Literary Gazette* and *Examiner* to promote *The Art of Travel* under the title of *The Traveller's Companion*.¹¹⁰ Thus, whilst Galton may not have set out to compile a manual to complement the Handbook series, the connection between his manual and leisurely travel was repeatedly alluded to over a number of years. Moreover, when we examine Galton's own involvement in producing literature for the tourist market, it becomes increasingly possible to consider how this genre may have had an impact not just on how *The Art of Travel* was promoted but also how it was revised and reshaped in later years.

¹⁰⁸ 'Mr Murray's List of Recent Works, October 1855' [Advertisements] in *The Newcomes*. Cut from the *Quarterly Review*, 97(1855), 7.

¹⁰⁹ 'The Art of Travel', *Murray's Handbook Advertiser* (1861), 50 was inserted in copies *Handbook for Travellers in France. Eight Edition, Revised and Corrected* (London: John Murray, 1861), *Handbook for Travellers in Portugal. Second Edition* (London: John Murray, 1856) and *Handbook for Travellers in Northern Italy. Eight Edition* (London: John Murray, 1860), for example.

¹¹⁰ 'The traveller's companion', *The Reader* 18 (1863):444

Francis Galton's contribution to Mid-Victorian Tourist Literature

Having seen the third edition of *The Art of Travel* through publication, Galton became involved with a new venture, editing *Vacation Tourists and Notes of Travel* (the focus of Chapter 5), for publisher Alexander Macmillan. This project found Galton editing a collection of short narratives compiled as a result of short tours in locations as diverse as the Scottish Highlands and Peru but with a decided leaning towards Alpine travel.¹¹¹ Whilst working on this three-volume series, and perhaps as a direct result of his involvement in the venture, Murray approached Galton about becoming involved in his Handbook series. In November 1863, shortly after returning from Piedmont, Galton replied to Murray informing him that he had considered the proposal and had 'given 2 or 3 hours to see what [he] could do with the Swiss Guide in particular'.¹¹² His verdict was that he 'could compress & methodise the Swiss handbook so as to bring it within the compass of a "Knapsack Edition" & make it a very satisfactory volume'.¹¹³ At the same time, however, Galton told Murray that he feared this undertaking would involve 'a great deal of irksome labour'. Despite the fact that Murray had published a tenth edition of the *Handbook to Switzerland and the Alps of Savoy and Piedmont* that same year, Galton was nevertheless certain that editing a further volume would require 'great additions to bring it au courant' to the needs of travellers.¹¹⁴ As he explained, 'The glories of the Alps were hardly known some years ago, when a large part of the handbook was written & consequently the writer had not that high standard of excellence in their imagination which all travellers now obtain from their excursion to Zermat, the Aegischhorn & the rest'.¹¹⁵ The guide, much like *The Art of Travel* would be of little use to travellers if it failed to keep up with current discoveries and trends in travel.

¹¹¹ F. Galton (ed.) *Vacation Tourists and Notes of Travel in 1860* (Cambridge: Macmillan and Co., 1861). I have not included the *Vacation Tourists* series in this discussion because it was not explicitly intended as a guide or a manual to travel in the same way that the Murray volumes were.

¹¹² F. Galton to J. Murray, November 5, 1863; November 8, 1863, John Murray Archive, Acc. 12604/1435, National Library of Scotland.

¹¹³ F. Galton to J. Murray, November 8, 1863, John Murray Archive, Acc. 12604/1435, National Library of Scotland.

¹¹⁴ F. Galton to J. Murray, November 8, 1863, John Murray Archive, Acc. 12604/1435, National Library of Scotland.

¹¹⁵ F. Galton to J. Murray, November 8, 1863, John Murray Archive, Acc. 12604/1435, National Library of Scotland.

By January, Galton had commenced work editing the extant Swiss Handbook and preparing a shorter Knapsack Guide to accompany it. He approached the task with the same systematic rigour he had applied to *The Art of Travel*;

My plan has been this. I break the description of each route into paragraphs of rarely more than 4 or 5 lines in length wherever a lengthened description of anything is necessary, it is fashioned & referred to by a note of reference. In practice, each route requires 2 or 3 of these notes. I thus get the itinerary from A to B, all in less than a page. It is almost as easy to use it backwards (from B to A) as forwards (from A to B).¹¹⁶

With twenty routes already constructed in this manner, Galton assured Murray that the venture was well in hand, noting that 'one's ideas of method become more practical by experience'.¹¹⁷ Indeed the experience of compiling *The Art of Travel* should have stood him in good stead, as the task required Galton to integrate his own insights into Alpine travel and those derived from others who contributed notes via Murray with what was already in place. However, despite his prior experience, undertaking the revision of the Knapsack Guide and the Handbook simultaneously would prove somewhat over ambitious. In March 1864, Galton told Murray that he was one-third of the way through the Handbook and asserted that 'When it is all finished, the Knapsack Guide will follow easily'.¹¹⁸

Yet Galton found that the need to adhere to certain conventions of pagination, paragraphing and spacing disrupted his methodical planning and caused the rate of production to slow.¹¹⁹ The Knapsack Guide for instance was printing two columns to a page which presented specific challenges. By February 1865 - months after the Knapsack Guide was published (Figure 4.7) - Galton was clearly increasingly frustrated with the Handbook and wrote to Murray, asserting 'I cannot give much more time to it, in indexing or in any other way. You will recollect that the arrangement was that I should correct it simultaneously with writing the Knapsack

¹¹⁶ F. Galton to J. Murray, January 1, 1864, John Murray Archive, Acc.12604/1435, National Library of Scotland.

¹¹⁷ F. Galton to J. Murray, January 1, 1864, John Murray Archive, Acc.12604/1435, National Library of Scotland.

¹¹⁸ F. Galton to J. Murray, March 16, 1864, John Murray Archive, Acc.12604/1435, National Library of Scotland.

¹¹⁹ F. Galton to J. Murray, March 16, 1864; April 19, 1864; July 9, 1864, John Murray Archive, Acc.12604/1435, National Library of Scotland.

Guide which I did; but I have gladly given, subsequently, more time to it'.¹²⁰ Indeed even before the experience had reached a conclusion, Galton revealed that he had been convinced of 'the great trouble of writing guide books' and noted that he would not be enticed to give up the 'freedom of a summer tour' to complete another for less than £100.¹²¹

Although the process of completing both volumes would not be entirely pleasurable, Galton had set out full of enthusiasm, initially eager to convince Murray of the potential utility of a guide to Switzerland made up of three parts: a knapsack guide, a guide to glaciers, and an appendix of historical information. However, despite having initiated the discussions over the prospect of producing a smaller guide which could conveniently fit in the knapsack, Murray was unwilling to dramatically alter the format of the handbook, which had after all been perfected over many years. Galton had to yield to Murray's wishes: he might have been skilled in the arts of travel, but it was Murray that understood how to marry the demands of the market and the practicalities of commercial publication.

Galton soon found that the demands of the guidebook were not the same as those of an instruction manual, with specific conventions to borne in mind. Nevertheless, it is possible that the experience of working with the pre-determined structure of the Handbook and imposing it upon the Knapsack Guide may have encouraged Galton to think about restructuring *The Art of Travel*. It was, after all, only in 1867, with the fourth edition, that any signification alteration was made to the organisation of the material. At this point Galton almost entirely revised and reorganised the content of the work so that it now sported an arrangement not dissimilar to that which Galton had worked with in the 'introductory information' sections of the *Handbook* and *Knapsack Guide*.

Guidebooks were designed to enable tourists to move easily from A to B to C and back again. Thus, sections dealt with pre-travel preparations such as securing necessary visas before discussing how one could reach one's initial stopping-off point in, in this case, Switzerland. Discussion then shifted towards matters arising once abroad – money, the telegraph system, modes of travelling in Switzerland, Swiss Inns, and so on. Although each location raised certain site-specific issues

¹²⁰ F. Galton to J. Murray, February 7, 1865, John Murray Archive, Acc.12604/1435, National Library of Scotland.

¹²¹ F. Galton to J. Murray, June 22, 1864, John Murray Archive Acc.12604/1435, National Library of Scotland

which had to be taken into consideration and routes and sites of interest were a mandatory part of the guide, there were also a number of issues likely to arise in all of the locations that Murray's guides covered. Thus, while we can view the re-arrangement of the 1864 edition as a reflection of Galton's increased focus upon instruments and accurate observation, one could also argue that there was now a degree of similarity between the arrangement of Galton's material in *The Art of Travel* and the organisational structure he had followed in the *Handbook* and *Knapsack Guide*: *The Art of Travel* now also took the reader on a journey over the course of the manual, from 'preparatory enquiries' to the 'conclusion of the journey' whilst stopping off along the way to consider a number of issues likely to occur along the way. The argument that there is a degree of comparison between *The Art of Travel* and the *Handbook* series is strengthened if we look more closely at the content of Galton's manual.

The Art of Travel in 'wild & civilised countries'

Whilst Galton had settled on a title that emphasised that the vast proportion of the material within *The Art of Travel* related to expeditionary travel, the fact that one of the earlier titles he considered was 'The Art of Travel Suggestions of Hints & contrivances to wayfarers in wild & civilised countries' reveals an awareness that there was a certain amount of material that might prove relevant to Murray's tourists.¹²² There was some noteworthy content that clearly carried currency irrespective of which geographical region or mode of travel was favoured. Galton for instance, gave advice on how to enjoy tea without the traditional apparatus:

Where there are no cups nor teapot, put the leaves in the pot or kettle and drink through a reed with a wisp in it, as they do in Paraguay; if there are cups and no teapot, the leaves may be put in the pot, previously enclosed in a loose gauze or muslin bag to prevent their floating about.¹²³

Moreover, Galton expressly noted that it was advice that was 'well worth being borne in mind by a traveller in civilised countries, who carries an Etna with him'. Surely following close to obtaining a good cup of tea when away from home was the traveller's quest to prevent blistered feet and so Captain Cochrane's remedy of using

¹²² F. Galton 'Notebook for 1854' Galton Papers 56, University College London.

¹²³ Galton, *The Art of Travel*, 1855, 53.

‘spirits mixed with tallow dropped from a candle onto the palm of the hand’ would likely have appealed to many.¹²⁴ What makes this piece of advice especially interesting in relation to the present discussion, however is that it was sourced from Murray’s *Handbook to Switzerland* and first appeared not in 1867 but in 1855, highlighting that the guidebook already had a presence, albeit a minor one which might easily be overlooked by Galton’s readers, but a presence nonetheless. This presence certainly grew as time went on for, although Galton would not reference the Handbook, his personal passion for Alpine travel meant that there were a number of references to Switzerland and the Alps that would surely interest Murray’s tourists. For instance, the 1867 edition of *The Art of Travel* contained a whole section on mountaineering which included extensive extracts from the ‘Report of a Committee, appointed by the Alpine Club in 1864, on Ropes, Axes and Alpenstocks’ complete with numerous illustrations, which reflected a much wider interest in and knowledge of Alpine regions in the mid-1860s (Figure 4.8).¹²⁵

This interest in Alpine tourism and indeed travel more widely was not confined to those with the means to try it first-hand. It is clear that some readers preferred to explore from the comfort of their own armchairs and thus there was also market for providing information within guides that could be transposed onto the home situation. Certainly, there were many instances in which *The Art of Travel* provided such information. One of the strangest perhaps was advice which ‘had been practiced in most countries from England to Peru’ and involved describing steps to convince a robber that you were ready to surrender your possessions before shooting him dead with the loaded weapon you carried on your person.¹²⁶

At various points in their respective lives, *The Art of Travel* and works belonging to Murray’s Handbook series clearly crossed paths, whether in terms of marketing, formatting or content. Galton’s involvement in publishing ventures connected to more touristic forms of travel had a tangible impact upon *The Art of Travel*, increasing its relevance to those intent on visiting more accessible locations. However, several reviewers recommended Galton’s manual to their readers from the outset even if their travels ‘extend only a little way beyond their own firesides.’¹²⁷

¹²⁴ Galton, *The Art of Travel*, 1855, 170.

¹²⁵ Galton, *The Art of Travel*, 1867, 49-55.

¹²⁶ Galton, *The Art of Travel*, 1855, 64.

¹²⁷ ‘How to see the world’, *Chambers’s Journal of Popular Literature Science and Arts*, 3 (1855), 374.

The *Westminster Review*, for instance, carried a review of the 1855 edition which noted that ‘Mr Galton in his “*Art of Travel*” does not profess to give hints for a tour up the Rhine, or a visit to Paris. Travel is with him a more serious affair’. The same reviewer, however, was also confident that ‘there are, nevertheless, not a few paragraphs containing instructions useful to ordinary tourists; as, for instance, the directions for fording a river, and for protecting a boat in rough water’.¹²⁸ Likewise, the *Examiner’s* reviewer noted that although Galton was really using his book to address those tourists who ‘go in for camels, savages and lions’ the work was nevertheless deemed ‘competent also to put some useful ideas into the heads of the men who stay at home’.¹²⁹ With a decidedly stay-at-home audience in mind also, the *Liverpool Mercury’s* ‘Housewife’s Corner’ carried an excerpt of the advice offered in *The Art of Travel* for blistered feet.¹³⁰ However, whether such reviews and advertisements encouraged tourists to take up Galton’s manual and the advice it offered still remains open to some question. Nevertheless, by situating *The Art of Travel* in relation to the guidebook genre, and specifically to John Murray’s Handbooks, this section adds a further dimension to our understanding of the role that *The Art of Travel* was intended to perform.

* * *

This chapter has explored three different faces of *The Art of Travel*, contextualising the development of the work in relation to contemporary concerns within the RGS, the British Army, and the publishing house of John Murray. These contexts of course overlapped in significant ways, and the extent to which it is possible to differentiate one ‘reading’ of *The Art of Travel* from another should not be over-emphasised. Nineteenth-century authors, readers, reviewers and the published works they came into contact with occupied multiple spheres ensuring that whilst some groups might have predominantly responded to *The Art of Travel* as an expeditionary guide, a campaign manual or a tourist companion, many others would have been attuned to the fact that this work could simultaneously speak to a wide range of concerns, something which Galton himself had encouraged.

¹²⁸ ‘Contemporary Literature’, *Westminster Review* American Edition, 63 (1855), 306.

¹²⁹ ‘The Literary Examiner’, *Examiner* (April 14, 1855), 230.

¹³⁰ ‘Housewife’s corner’, *Liverpool Mercury* (September 14, 1855), 11.

Nevertheless, by identifying three different (if undoubtedly connected) ways to position *The Art of Travel*, this chapter has demonstrated that an approach which focuses on both the multi-edition history of a text and its subsequent marketing, circulation and reception in different material forms can reveal significant insights into the ways that geographical knowledge was packaged for, presented to and understood by different audiences. This chapter reminds us of the need to move beyond author-centric histories to consider the wider range of individuals and institutions that helped to shape the understandings of nineteenth-century readers. Working within and beyond particular editions of *The Art of Travel*, provides an understanding of how this text evolved over time, how it was used in specific contexts and how it was incorporated into other print and speech spaces, greatly increasing our understanding of the reach of this text in the process.

Figures

THE
ART OF TRAVEL;
OR,
SHIFTS AND CONTRIVANCES AVAILABLE IN
WILD COUNTRIES.

BY FRANCIS GALTON,
AUTHOR OF "EXPLORATIONS IN TROPICAL SOUTH AFRICA."

WITH WOODCUTS.

LONDON:
JOHN MURRAY, ALBEMARLE STREET.
1855.

203. d. 49.

4.1 Francis Galton's *The Art of Travel or,
Shifts and Contrivances Available in Wild Countries*
First Edition (London: John Murray 1855)

THE
PRAIRIE TRAVELER.

A HAND-BOOK FOR
OVERLAND EXPEDITIONS.

WITH MAPS, ILLUSTRATIONS, AND ITINERARIES OF
THE PRINCIPAL ROUTES BETWEEN THE
MISSISSIPPI AND THE PACIFIC.

BY RANDOLPH B. MARCY,
CAPTAIN U. S. ARMY.

PUBLISHED BY AUTHORITY OF THE WAR DEPARTMENT.

NEW YORK:
HARPER & BROTHERS, PUBLISHERS,
FRANKLIN SQUARE
1859.

THE
PRAIRIE TRAVELER,

A HAND-BOOK
FOR
OVERLAND EXPEDITIONS.

WITH ILLUSTRATIONS, AND ITINERARIES OF
THE PRINCIPAL ROUTES BETWEEN THE
MISSISSIPPI AND THE PACIFIC,
AND A MAP.

By RANDOLPH B. MARCY,
CAPTAIN U. S. ARMY.
(NOW GENERAL MARCY, CHIEF OF STAFF, ARMY OF THE POTOMAC.)

EDITED (WITH NOTES) BY
RICHARD F. BURTON, F.R.G.S.,
M.P.

PUBLISHED IN THE UNITED STATES BY AUTHORITY OF THE WAR DEPARTMENT.

LONDON:
TRÜBNER AND CO., 60, PATERNOSTER ROW.
—
1863.

4.2 R.B. Marcy's *The Prairie Traveler*

SHIFTS AND CONTRIVANCES AVAILABLE IN
WILD COUNTRIES.

BY FRANCIS GALTON, F.R.G.S.,
AUTHOR OF "THE EXPLORER IN TROPICAL SOUTH AFRICA."

Second Edition, Revised and Enlarged,
WITH MANY ADDITIONAL WOODCUTS.

LONDON:
JOHN MURRAY, ALBEMARLE STREET.
1856.



2 old phosphor box sulphur matches
P. 23-
Red 31 Pills 42 Cart 33.
Turk 44 - 46 Bag tent.
umbrella & dagger sticks 39 Whips =
Ice vases & mixtures
Carstens Sallers machine writing
Chair stable 58.
Clothes 59. Bags in numbers
Sleeping mat - Persian rug, Blanket
bag. 36
Blankets 37. Matras (folding)
mosquito net other curtains 54
Pyramid am
Parents 227. Towel, under
Saddles 170 Spare girths - 2 sets 76
Tow 75 Mats cora
Turtle 76 Water pots 77.
Cards, maps in 78 Spices in
Hides, stove oven P. 48
Cooking pots 78
Canteen portable 85
Kettles 76
Pocket pistol 79.
Soap box & drying bag 65
Medicine chest 210
Various 148
Ampoules box 141.
Pipes 184
Books 156
Am ammunition 185
Rockets Saltpetre 207, 200

LONDON: PRINTED BY WOODFALL AND KINDER,
ANGEL COURT, BISHOP'S STREET.
wooden box in 74
manila cloth boots 109 - Check book
autographic ink sprayer 237 713. Viller
& Co.

Notes of Travel

Marcy's Overland Expedition
 Sord's at home in the Wilderness
 Wolseley Soldiers Pocket-Book
 Bains & Sord's Shifts of Camp Life
 Gordons Manual of Sanitation
 Beeton's Birdnest & Bird Stuffing
 Gardner's Animal Stuffing
 Galton's Art of Travel
 Smithsonian Institute
 Hints to Travellers
 Admiralty Manual
 Steven's Directions in Nat: History
 Shekarry's Wrinkles.
 other books by Shek:
 J. A. A. Levison



ARTS OF TRAVELLING AND CAMPAIGNING

THE FOLLOWING
COURSE
OF
PUBLIC LECTURES
WILL BE DELIVERED AT
THE CAMP AT ALDERSHOT,
BY

FRANCIS GALTON Esq., F.R.G.S.

Author of the "Art of Travel" and of "Explorations in Tropical South Africa"

The Lectures will commence at HALF-PAST SEVEN, and will be delivered on
WEDNESDAY Evenings, as follows:—

| Page | Subject of Lecture | Day |
|------------|---|----------|
| 3. | Water for drinking | Jan. 16 |
| 4, 5 | Fire. Bivouac | Jan. 23 |
| 6, | Food | Jan. 30 |
| 7, 8, 9 | The March. Rivers and bad Roads | Feb. 6 |
| 10 | Crafts and Mechanics | Feb. 13 |
| 11, 12, 13 | Bush Manufactures | Feb. 20 |
| 14 | Animals of Draught and Burden | Feb. 27* |
| 15 | Tents and Hutting | March 6 |

Mr Galton will also be present in the Lecture Room, from 10½ to 12 o'clock, on the THURSDAY Mornings, where he will be happy to explain any matters connected with the Lecture of the preceding Evening; and to repeat it at 11 o'clock, in the event of there being a sufficient attendance.

LONDON :

PRINTED BY T. BRETTILL, RUPERT STREET, HAYMARKET

1856

ARTS OF CAMPAIGNING

AN INAUGURAL LECTURE, DELIVERED

AT

ALDERSHOT,

ON THE OPENING OF HIS MUSEUM AND LABORATORY
IN THE SOUTH CAMP, V, Nos. 18 AND 20,

BY FRANCIS GALTON, ESQ.

LONDON:

JOHN MURRAY, ALBEMARLE STREET.

1856.

CATALOGUE OF MODELS AND SPECIMENS.

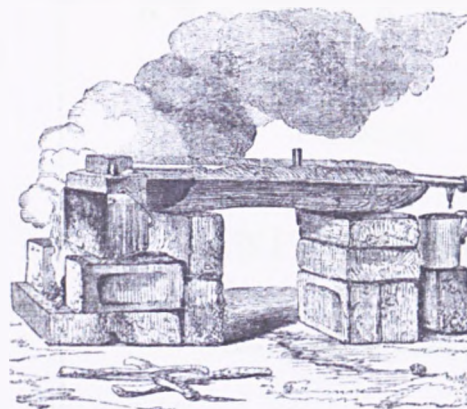
FIRE.—

| | |
|--|--|
| Lucifer Matches,..... | { of wax. of wood. |
| Burning Glasses,..... | { telescope lens. eye glass, (convex). pair of spectacles, (convex). |
| Sulphur Matches, or bits of stick with their ends dipped in sulphur. | { sulphur melted on a hot pebble. do. in a bent up piece of tin. do. in a piece of ordinary paper. |
| Fire Sticks, | { drill bow and string. drill stick of oak fire block of mulberry. do. of ivy. |
| Flints and their substitutes, | { flints. quartz. rock crystal. granite. other siliceous stones. porcelain, various specimens. |
| Steels and their substitutes, | { steels. pyrites. case hardened iron. clay or loam mould for making it. animal charcoal, do. |
| Tinders :—1st. Those which are not convenient to hold, and which there- fore require a tin- der box. | { grass, &c., wetted in the mouth, and rubbed with gunpowder, and having grains of gunpowder scattered about it. cotton wool; (when charred all the better). tinder of burnt rag, and how to make it in the open field. touchwood. |

Water for Drinking.

219

lowed out in the middle, and kept full of cold water for the purpose of condensation; and the water so distilled escaped at the nipple of the gun-barrel, and was conducted into a bottle placed to receive it." The accompanying sketch is



taken from a model which I made with a soldier's mess-tin for a boiler, and a tin tube in the place of a gun barrel. The knob represents the breech; and the projection, through which the water is dropping, the nipple. I may remark that there is nothing in the arrangement which would hurt the most highly-finished gun-barrel; and that the trough which holds the condensing water may be made with canvas, or even dispensed with altogether.

Condensing Pipe.—In default of other tubes, a reed may be used: one of the long bones of an animal, or of a wading bird, will be an indifferent substitute for a condensing pipe.

4.6 Models and Specimens Illustrative of Camp Life,

Catalogue of Models and Specimens, Galton Papers 69, UCL and *The Art of Travel* (London: John Murray, 1856), p.219

D

A

HANDBOOK
FOR
TRAVELLERS IN SWITZERLAND,
AND THE
ALPS OF SAVOY AND PIEDMONT.

Second Edition,
CORRECTED; WITH TRAVELLING MAPS, PLANS OF TOWNS, ETC.

LONDON:
JOHN MURRAY, ALBEMARLE STREET;
PARIS: A. & W. GALIGNANI & CO., STASSIN & XAVIER.
1865.

THE
KNAPSACK GUIDE
FOR
TRAVELLERS
IN
SWITZERLAND.

WITH CLUE MAPS, PLANS, AND MOUNTAIN OUTLINES.

LONDON:
JOHN MURRAY, ALBEMARLE STREET.
PARIS: A. & W. GALIGNANI & CO., STASSIN & XAVIER.

1864.

The right of Translation is reserved.

4.7 Francis Galton's Contribution to Murray's Guidebooks

MURRAY'S HANDBOOKS FOR TRAVELLERS.

HANDBOOK OF MODERN LONDON.—A Complete Guide for Visitors to the Metropolis. Map. 5s.

HANDBOOK FOR DEVON & CORNWALL. Maps. 6s.

HANDBOOK TO THE ART OF TRAVEL.—Being Hints and Suggestions available in Wild Countries. Woodcuts. 6s.

HANDBOOK OF TRAVEL-TALK.—English, French, German, and Italian. 2s. 6d.

HANDBOOK FOR NORTH GERMANY.—HOLLAND, Belgium, Prussia, and the Rhine, to Switzerland. Maps. 9s.

HANDBOOK FOR SOUTH GERMANY.—THE TYROL, Bavaria, Austria, Salzburg, Styria, Hungary, and the Danube from Ulm to the Black Sea. Maps. 9s.

HANDBOOK FOR SWITZERLAND.—The ALPS of Savoy and Piedmont. Maps. 7s. 6d.

HANDBOOK FOR FRANCE.—Normandy, Brittany, the French Alps, Dauphine, Provence, and the Pyrenees. Maps. 9s.

HANDBOOK FOR SPAIN.—Andalusia, Ronda, Grenada, Catalonia, Galicia, the Basques, Arragon, &c. Maps. 2 vols. 80s.

HANDBOOK FOR PORTUGAL.—Lisbon, &c. Map. 9s.

HANDBOOK FOR NORTH ITALY.—Sardinia, Lombardy, Venetia, Parma, Piacenza, Modena, Lucca, Florence, Tuscany as far as the Val D'Arno. Maps. 12s.

HANDBOOK FOR SOUTH ITALY.—The Two Sicilies, Naples, Pompeii, Herculaneum, Vesuvius, &c. Maps. 10s.

HANDBOOK FOR CENTRAL ITALY.—Southern Tuscany and the Papal States. Maps. 7s.

HANDBOOK FOR ROME & ITS ENVIRONS. Map. 7s.

HANDBOOK FOR GREECE.—The Ionian Islands, Albania, Thessaly, and Macedonia. Maps. 15s.

HANDBOOK FOR TURKEY.—Malta, Constantinople, Asia Minor, Armenia, Mesopotamia, &c. Maps. 10s.

HANDBOOK FOR EGYPT.—Malta, the Nile, Alexandria, Cairo, Thebes, and the Overland Route to India. Map. 15s.

HANDBOOK FOR DENMARK.—Norway and Sweden. Maps. 12s.

HANDBOOK FOR RUSSIA.—Finland & Iceland. Maps. 12s.

JOHN MURRAY, Albemarle Street.

THE
ART OF TRAVEL;

OR,

SHIFTS AND CONTRIVANCES AVAILABLE IN
WILD COUNTRIES.

By FRANCIS GALTON, F.R.S., &c.,

AUTHOR OF TRAVELS IN TROPICAL SOUTH AFRICA; ALSO FORMERLY, GOLD MEDALLIST AND
FOR SUPER TRAIN, HONORARY SECRETARY OF THE ROYAL GEOGRAPHICAL SOCIETY.

Fourth Edition, entirely Re-cast and much Enlarged.

WITH MANY ADDITIONAL WOODCUTS.



LONDON:

JOHN MURRAY, ALBEMARLE STREET.

1867.

The right of Translation is reserved.

well-made, many-stranded, inch rope (see "Ropes"), to which the climber is attached, and by which he is let down; the other is a much thinner cord, left to dangle over the cliff, and made fast to some stone or stake above. The use of the second rope is for the climber to haul upon, when he wishes to be pulled up. By resting a large part of his weight upon it, he makes the task of pulling him up much more easy. He can also convey signals by jerking it. A usual rock-

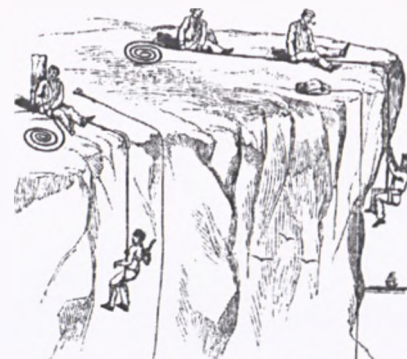


Fig. 1.

Fig. 2.

climbing arrangement is shown in the sketch. One man with a post behind him, as in fig. 1, or two men, as in fig. 2, are entrusted with the letting down of a comrade to the depth of 100 or even 150 feet. They pass the rope either under their thighs or along their sides, as shown in the figures. The climber is attached to the rope, as shown in fig. 2. The band on which he sits is of worsted. A beginner ought to be attached far more securely to the rope.

4.8 Intersections: Murray's Handbooks and Galton's *The Art of Travel*

Left: 'Black's Guide Book Advertiser, 1856' in *Black's Picturesque Tourist of Scotland*, (Edinburgh: Adams and Charles Black, 1856)

Serialising Travel: *Vacation Tourists and Notes of Travel*

This chapter furthers our investigation of mid-Victorian travel publishing by examining the opportunities and challenges associated with serial publication. Whilst the three-decker and part-publication of Victorian novels has received much attention there has been relatively little work on the significance of book series in particular and serial publishing in general in relation to non-fictional genres in the same period. Howsam defines the series as ‘a named, sometimes numbered, group of books with a common theme, usually with uniform binding, and often uniformly priced, appearing under a general title’ (as shown in Figures 5.1-5.4).¹ Similarly, Fyfe suggests, ‘It should be clear that there is an overlap between the genres of ‘periodical’ and ‘book’, particularly as exemplified by the “book series”, where each published unit has the form of a book, but is issued as part of a larger, periodic project’.² In cases where each ‘book’ making up the larger series is itself an edited collection the boundary between ‘book’ and ‘periodical’ merges even further, as this chapter will demonstrate through an examination of *Vacation Tourists and Notes of Travel*. This three-volume series was developed by publisher Alexander Macmillan and editor Francis Galton with the intention of bringing together topical accounts of travels conducted in disparate parts of the world in a form which would both educate and entertain the general reader. The plan was heralded as ‘a striking illustration of the prevalent taste for travel and adventure’³ and although the series as a whole did not enjoy the immediate success of *Missionary Travels* or the longer sustained success of *The Art of Travel*, the fact that ‘the venture paid its way, but no more’ might be considered as something of an achievement in itself.⁴ Indeed for every bestseller there were numerous other ventures which achieved less spectacular results. Examining such projects provides further insights into the competitive marketplace for works of travel and in this instance, the specific challenges associated with serial production in particular. The chapter begins by exploring the

¹ L. Howsam, ‘Sustained Literary Ventures: The Series in Victorian Book Publishing’, *Publishing History*, 31 (1992), 5.

² A. Fyfe, ‘Periodicals and Book Series: Complementary Aspects of a Publisher’s Mission’ in Henson et al. (eds.), *Culture and Science in the Nineteenth-Century Media*, (Aldershot: Ashgate Publishing Ltd, 2004), 71.

³ ‘*Vacation Tourists and Notes of Travel in 1860* [Review]’, *North American Review*, 93 (1861), 271.

⁴ F. Galton, *Memories of My Life*, (London: Methuen and Co., 1908), 187; Simon Eliot identified three categories of prices for books during the nineteenth century: 1d and 3s6d (low); 3d7d – 10s (mid) and 10s+ (high). Even allowing for the fact that most customers would have received a discount on the 14 shilling cover price, Macmillan’s desire to produce a handsome volume had ensured it would likely be out of the reach of many. S. Eliot, *Some Patterns and Trends in British Publishing 1800-1919* (London: Bibliographical Society, 1994), 60.

concept behind *Vacation Tourists and Notes of Travel*, beginning with the origins and aims of the series (initially conceived as *Cambridge Tours in 1860*) before considering precedents for an annual series bringing together experiences of travel in different parts of the world (Section 5.1). It then examines the practical challenges associated with putting such a plan into print, exploring, for example, the delays that plagued the series and how these threatened to undermine the topicality and originality of the essays within each volume (Section 5.2). The third part of this chapter moves the discussion beyond the publishing house and into the wider market. It explores circulation by examining advertising and sales together with the presence of the series in various different libraries in order to consider where the series might have been encountered and by whom (Section 5.3) Finally, this chapter concludes with an examination of periodical reviews, allowing us to consider responses to the rationale of the series and more specifically, the extent to which Macmillan and Galton achieved their aim of offering new and topical content which was both entertaining and educational (Section 5.4).

5.1 The Concept and Contexts behind *Vacation Tourists*

Exploring the context of the development of *Vacation Tourists* helps to explain why Macmillan chose to initiate a new serial venture dedicated to travel at this time and why it came to occupy the particular form it did. Seeking answers to these questions once more casts light on the collaborative nature of the publishing process. The seeds of the project which would become *Vacation Tourists* were sown in the autumn of 1860 in conversations between publisher Alexander Macmillan and two Fellows of Cambridge University, William George Clark, who was also University Orator, and John Willis Clark. Both men were eager to publish accounts of their recent travels. However, they found themselves with more information than might be conveyed in a normal periodical article but with insufficient materials for a book-length project. Rather than suggest that the authors make further attempts to condense their writings into periodical articles, Macmillan saw an opportunity to develop a new venture which would cater for traveller-authors in exactly that predicament.⁵ The venture which he began to formulate would offer 'short accounts of journeys and experiences

⁵ B.Q. Schmidt, 'Novelists, Publishers, and Fiction in Middle-Class Magazines: 1860-1880', *Victorian Periodicals Review*, 17 (1984), 145.

of some travellers during the summer'⁶ or, as he put it elsewhere, 'sketches of travel by such travellers as have been doing as much as would usually make up one or two magazine articles'.⁷ Macmillan was convinced after consulting a number of other Cambridge scholars that a collection of 'Accounts of Tours by Members of the University might prove interesting and useful to the public' and began to formulate a plan for *Cambridge Tours* in 1860.

Macmillan was well-placed to attract contributions to such a volume having established close connections with the University throughout the 1840s and 1850s. The Macmillan brothers had started as booksellers, taking a shop in London's Aldersgate Street in February 1843. However, as Worth notes, it was not uncommon for booksellers to become involved in publishing during the 'forties and it was a move that the Macmillans quickly made. They took over another set of premises in Cambridge with the intention of dividing their bookselling and publishing activities between the University town and London respectively. By the end of 1843, however, the business had moved entirely to Cambridge. Their premises became 'a little college in itself'. As van Arsdel explains, 'Because the Macmillans had a clear understanding of the personal element in publishing, they saw to it that 1 Trinity Street was a place for easy and convivial exchange of ideas'.⁸ The brothers encouraged dons and undergraduates to see their shop (they continued to combine publishing and bookselling) as a meeting place, setting aside a room upstairs to facilitate the coming together of influential and enquiring minds from both within the university and the town more widely.⁹ The advantages of doing so were clear, for throughout their early years, the firm relied heavily upon Cambridge-based and Cambridge-educated authors to provide the majority of the firm's output.¹⁰ In 1858 the firm expanded, opening a second branch in London's Covent Garden which

⁶ A. Macmillan to H.F. Tozer, December 14, 1860, Macmillan Archive Add. MS55839, 86-7, British Library.

⁷ A. Macmillan to Rev. Blakesley, December 5, 1860, Macmillan Archive Add. MS55839, 78-79 British Library.

⁸ R.T. van Arsdel, 'Macmillan Family (per. 1840-1986)', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, Online Edition, Oxford University Press, 2004.

⁹ M.H. Black and G. Johnson, *Cambridge University Press, 1584-1984* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2000), 142.

¹⁰ D. McKitterick, *A History of Cambridge University Press*, Volume 2: Scholarship and Commerce, 1698-1872 (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1992), 377; D. McKitterick, *A History of Cambridge University Press*, Volume 3: New Worlds for Learning, 1873-1972, (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2004) 59-60; S. Eliot 'To You in Your Vast Business' Some Features of the Quantitative History of Macmillan, 1843-91' in E. James (ed.) *Macmillan: A Publishing Tradition* Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2002), 14.

encouraged the firm to extend its output. Christianity, education, classical literature, science and mathematics, however, remained the cornerstones of the Macmillan brand. From 1855 the firm began to embrace the market for fiction, publishing works such as Kingsley's *Westward Ho!* and Hughes' *Tom Brown's School Days*, however the Macmillans would not sacrifice their Christian ideals for commercial success. The firm continued to produce texts explicitly for the university market while also initiating a number of periodical ventures. Of these the most successful was *Macmillan's Magazine* which reflected the Macmillan ethos with content designed to instruct and entertain middle-class readers with some degree of education but lacking the disposable income to purchase the expensive quarterlies on a regular basis.¹¹

When *Cambridge Tours in 1860* was conceived then, Alexander Macmillan already had access to a large network of potential authors and significant experience of co-ordinating periodical ventures, always keeping a watchful eye over the firm's output to ensure that nothing was published which might threaten the firm's reputation. Francis Galton was appointed as editor, his reputation as traveller and author now well established through *Tropical South Africa* and *The Art of Travel* which was in its third edition. The fact that Galton was 'an old Cambridge man' himself also did much to recommend him for the position.¹² That Macmillan's close association with members of Cambridge University provided him with easy access to a network of potential contributors does not in itself explain the decision to initiate *Cambridge Tourists in 1860* though. The support of authors was important but to be viable the series would need to attract enough readers to allow it to break even at least. There were precedents however which suggested the proposed venture might prove appealing to both authors and readers alike.

¹¹G. Dawson, R. Noakes and J.R. Topham, 'Introduction' in G.N. Cantor, G. Dawson and G. Gooday (eds.), *Science in the Nineteenth Century Periodical: Rereading the Magazine of Nature* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2004), 20; R.T. van Arsdell, 'Macmillan Family (per. 1840-1986)', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, Online Edition, Oxford University Press, 2004

¹² Galton's published memoirs state that Alexander Macmillan approached him about the series 'in the later fifties'. However, material within the Macmillan Archive suggests that planning did not begin until the autumn of 1860. Galton, *Memories of My Life*, 186; F. Galton, 'Preface', *Vacation Tourists and Notes of Travel in 1860* (Cambridge: Macmillan and Co., 1861), v; A. Macmillan to A.P. Stanley, December 1, 1860, Macmillan Archive Add. MS55839, 47, British Library.

Oxford and Cambridge Essays: Setting a Precedent?

Among these precedents were the series of *Oxford Essays* and *Cambridge Essays*, published annually by John W. Parker and Son between 1855 and 1858. Each volume contained a set of essays contributed by graduates of the respective universities and covered a range of themes. Altholz argues that these collections helped to establish 'a new genre of publication, the composite volume', sitting between the periodical which was the traditional home of the essay, and the book.¹³ Clearly 'periodicals' themselves took many forms ranging from daily newspapers to weekly and monthly magazines to expensive quarterlies but what helped to distinguish *Oxford* and *Cambridge Essays* from existing periodicals was the decision to name each contributor individually. Although books were more commonly signed, periodical literature was largely anonymous at this time. Proponents of anonymity argued that it afforded writers a degree of freedom to express their true opinions whilst critics complained that it enabled authorship without responsibility.¹⁴ The explicit naming of the Oxford and Cambridge essayists against this backdrop was significant. The preface attached to the first edition of *Oxford Essays* explained that the authors had signed their names by way of indicating that each paper represented the views of that author alone. The common thread running through the papers was their affiliation with the University, not a shared purpose or set of beliefs.¹⁵ Whilst individual periodical articles might be assumed to speak to one another, each one helping to constitute the collective identity of the publication in which they appeared, the editors of the *Essays* made clear that this was not the intention in this instance. The first volume of *Cambridge Essays* echoed this point, explaining, 'Each contributor, by signing his name, becomes answerable for his own work. We are thus spared the affectation of a perfect conformity of views, which does not, and cannot exist'.¹⁶ As Altholz notes, signatures then 'allow[ed] diversity by individualizing responsibility'.¹⁷

¹³ J.F. Altholz, 'Periodical origins & implications of "Essays and Reviews"', *Victorian Periodicals Newsletter*, 10 (1977), 151.

¹⁴ J. Secord, *Victorian Sensation: The Extraordinary Publication, Reception and Secret Authorship of Vestiges of the Natural History of Creation* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2000), 19.

¹⁵ 'Preface', *Oxford Essays, contributed by Members of the University*, (London: John W. Parker and Sons, 1855).

¹⁶ [W.G. Clark], 'Preface' in *Cambridge Essays, contributed by Members of the University*, (London: John W. Parker and Sons, 1855).

¹⁷ Altholz, 'Periodical origins & implications of "Essays and Reviews"', 143.

Alexander Macmillan shared the belief that individual authors ought be accountable for the quality of and opinion expressed in their writings. Indeed it was with the initiation of *Macmillan's Magazine* in 1859 onwards that the challenge to anonymous journalism gained considerable momentum (although signatures would be resisted in some periodicals well into the later nineteenth-century). Certainly Macmillan would strongly encourage contributors to his new series of essays to sign their names. For some authors though relinquishing anonymity was not an attractive prospect. Sarah Austin, for example, had to be reassured that the series was 'really quite respectable' before allowing Macmillan to sign the letters of her daughter, Lady Duff Gordon, which appeared in the third volume of the series.¹⁸ Austin was well aware of the social pressures exerted upon women writers in particular. When her husband had been unable to provide for the family on account of illness, Austin had turned to writing and translation to supplement the family income. Yet, whilst she had work published in the quarterlies, she would become far better known for her translations which would bring greater financial reward but also 'limit the authorship that would have been an affront to her husband, whose own publication record was meagre'.¹⁹

Where authors could not be persuaded to give their name in the new series, Galton was urged to add an alias, a 'Peter, James or John' in order to prevent any appearing like a 'faithless bairn', as Macmillan put it.²⁰ In most instances, however, initials were simply substituted, allowing scope for readers to make assumptions about the origins of particular papers while also providing authors with room for manoeuvre. Robert Dalyell's paper for instance was signed R.D. but with an additional note indicating that the author was 'a Former Resident and Recent Traveller among [the Slavonic races]' which his paper discussed to give further weight to the contribution.²¹ Authors occupying official roles (as he did in the

¹⁸ A. Macmillan to S. Austin, March 24, 1864, Macmillan Archive Add. MS55382, 334, British Library.

¹⁹ J. Hamburger, 'Austin, Sarah (1793–1867)', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, Online Edition, (Oxford University Press, 2004).

²⁰ A. Macmillan to F. Galton, February 18, 1861, Macmillan Archive Add. MS55839, 324, British Library.

²¹ Evidence from unpublished letters in the Macmillan archive, Galton's own memoirs and publications of the Royal Geographical Society confirms that R.D. was Robert Alexander Osborn Dalyell later Sir Robert Dalyell who held positions within the diplomatic service. A. Macmillan to F. Galton, January 23, 1861, Macmillan Archive, Add. MS55839, 237, British Library; A. Macmillan to W.C. Dalyell, March 1, 1862; Macmillan Archive, Add. MS55841, 451, British Library; Galton, *Memoirs of My Life*, 78; R.A.O. Dalyell, 'Memoranda. Earthquake of Erzerüm, June 1859', *Journal*

Diplomatic Service) had to be wary of laying claim to any writing which might jeopardise their position.

The *Essays* then might be considered as something of a model for *Cambridge Tourists* both in terms of the composite format it adopted and its attitude towards signed essays. Certainly Macmillan made reference to the series in correspondence with several potential contributors informing Arthur Stanley (later Dean of Westminster) and Henry Fanshawe Tozer that they intended to pay 'at about the rate which was paid for the Oxford + Cambridge Essays'.²² Although Macmillan did not explicitly suggest that the new venture would attempt to emulate the *Oxford and Cambridge Essays* directly, by indicating that both projects offered the same rate of remuneration, the publisher implied that a similar standard of contribution was being sought. The fact that the editor of the first volume of *Cambridge Essays* was also William George Clark, whose travel-writing had encouraged Macmillan to initiate the new venture (as he also explained to several possible contributors) also suggests linkages with the earlier series. Indeed Francis Galton too had provided a paper 'on modern geography' for the first volume of *Cambridge Essays*, ensuring that the editor was also familiar with the kinds of essays published in that series.

Peaks, Passes and Glaciers: A Comparable Venture?

The *Oxford and Cambridge Essays* though were not the only series which might have inspired Macmillan and Galton, however. Published by William Longman, a founding member of the Alpine Club, *Peaks, Passes and Glaciers* was launched in 1859 and adopted a similar format to the *Essays*, containing a number of signed essays although grouped around the common theme of Alpine travel (and mountaineering more widely) (Figure 5.5). The first volume was edited by Alpine Club President John Ball and went through four editions within a year of publication. The preface to the 1859 volume alluded to the fact that the English had long shown an interest in Alpine regions but complained that too often, tourists 'were content to follow in certain beaten tracks'.²³ Ball identified a new wave of travellers, however,

of the Royal Geographical Society, 33 (1863), 234-37; 'Fellows of the Royal Geographical Society of London' *Journal of the Royal Geographical Society of London* 30 (1860), xxii.

²² A. Macmillan to A.P. Stanley, December 1, 1860, Macmillan Archive Add. MS55839, 47, British Library.

²³ 'Peaks, Passes and Glaciers: A Series of Excursions by Members of the Alpine Club', *Notes on Books: Being an Analysis of the Works Published During Each Quarter by Messrs. Longman and Co.*,

who were inspired by a mixture of adventure and scientific curiosity and encouraged travellers to venture along new pathways. However, as Peter Hansen notes, the Alpine Club's exploits in this period regularly promoted the sense of adventure that such physical exertions inspired, not to mention the social climbing that they could also facilitate rather than emphasising the potential scientific contributions that could be made by its members.²⁴ The publication maintained a degree of exclusivity by carrying papers from members of the Alpine Club alone (all of whom gave their name in print). Consequently, Cambridge men also figured large in this publication as a quarter of the Club's membership at this time had attended the University.²⁵ Ball argued that the value of *Peaks, Passes and Glaciers* over other publishing venues carrying accounts of Alpine travel lay with the fact that the format necessarily encouraged writers to condense rather than extend their accounts.²⁶

Macmillan and Galton were to offer a similar argument in relation to their own project. They reasoned that the composite form encouraged precision and clarity in writing but without the loss of important detail. Indeed as the preface of the first volume of the new series would explain, encouraging travellers to compress their accounts 'into the limits of an ordinary magazine article would plainly diminish their value', suggesting not only that important material might have to be omitted on account of space constraints, but also that a magazine piece might receive less attention given its position in relation to a number of other articles.²⁷ Galton suggested though that the travel accounts their series presented 'will be of no diminished value because they are concisely written, are bound within one cover, and are presented in a readable form'.²⁸

With their shared focus on travel, signed essays, exclusive authorship and conviction that the composite format would produce more accurate contributions, there were clear comparisons to be made between *Peaks, Passes and Glaciers* and that which Macmillan and Galton would seek to establish. Indeed the reviewer for

1 (17) (1859), 273-4; J. Ball, 'Preface', *Peaks, Passes and Glaciers: A Series of Excursions by Members of the Alpine Club*, 1859, v.

²⁴ P.H. Hansen, 'British Mountaineering, 1850-1914', Unpublished Ph.D. Thesis, (Harvard University, 1991).

²⁵ P.H. Hansen, 'Albert Smith and the invention of Mountaineering in mid-Victorian Britain, *Journal of British Studies*, 34 (1995), 311.

²⁶ J. Ball, 'Preface', *Peaks, Passes and Glaciers: A Series of Excursions by Members of the Alpine Club*, 1859, ix.

²⁷ Galton, 'Preface' in *Vacation Tourists and Notes of Travel in 1860*, v.

²⁸ Galton, 'Preface' in *Vacation Tourists and Notes of Travel in 1860*, vi.

the *St James Magazine* was just one of many to suggest that Macmillan's series was a direct attempt to emulate the Alpine Club's series with the review confidently asserting that 'Mr Galton and his friends, emboldened by the success of "Peaks, and Passes," bring together a collection of Essays on certain Vacation Trips in 1860'. In fact the article went as far to suggest that the 'confraternity' of authors' contributing to Macmillan's series was 'a kind of imitation' of the Alpine Club itself.²⁹ However, there was at least one significant difference between the two ventures. Whilst *Peaks, Passes and Glaciers* was limited to travel in mountainous regions, Macmillan and Galton would attempt to offer the same 'general' middle-class reader a wider variety of accounts. Macmillan reasoned that existing outlets for travel literature were failing to satisfy the appetites of 'ordinary tourists' who might appreciate 'handsome' volumes containing easily digestible essays from different parts of the globe.³⁰ The series would entertain and educate with a mixture of 'incident fact and adventure' while offering the added convenience of providing all the 'travellings of the year' in a single volume.³¹

Reviving an Older Tradition?

Before moving to consider the challenges that Macmillan and Galton faced as they attempted to put their plan for a new travel series into print, I want to allude to one final context which may have shaped the development of the series. In resolving to bring together accounts of different types of travel in each volume, Macmillan's new series might also be compared with a much longer-established tradition of travel publishing. As Benedict explains, 'Literary anthologies are loosely defined as composite works ranging from spontaneous miscellanies of works sewn together to carefully commissioned and designed volumes: all feature texts by several authors, and all require an editor'.³² This description of the anthology as a collection of works by different authors, joined together in a single volume which is then linked to a wider series then certainly chimes with Macmillan's intentions for his new venture. In the context of travel publishing, the most famous anthologies are those compiled

²⁹ 'By Land and Sea. The Travellers', *St James's Magazine*, I (1861), 486.

³⁰ A. Macmillan to Prof. Phillips, June 29, 1861, Macmillan Archive, Add. MS55840, 126-7, British Library.

³¹ A. Macmillan to Prof. Phillips, June 29, 1861, Macmillan Archive, Add. MS55840, 126-7, British Library.

³² B.M. Benedict, 'The eighteenth-century anthology and the construction of the expert reader', *Poetics*, 28 (2001), 378.

by Hakluyt and Purchas in the late sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries although there were many later attempts to collate and indeed catalogue tales of travel.³³ These literary collections were not always driven by the desire to collate and reprint older works. Indeed as Benedict explains, literary scholars often distinguish between anthologies and miscellanies on the grounds that the former tended to reprint older works while the latter contained newly published materials. She argues, however that despite this distinction, they 'are differentiated by the degree of timeliness, not by kind. All are literary collections, sharing the same form and, consequently, reading practice'.³⁴ Miscellanies of new works often presented materials which had been specially commissioned for that particular series. Although Macmillan was not averse to suggesting that associates might keep his own collection of travels in mind whilst planning their vacations, he advised Galton against providing readers with details of the series' origins lest 'the idea should be given that the whole or indeed any of the articles were written or initiated for us'.³⁵ Of course, it was much easier to argue that the papers had been drawn together 'at comparatively short notice' in the first volume of the series than in later numbers however. It was important to do so nonetheless because it widely held that travellers' writings were prone to hyperbole and embellishment – indeed that was something the serial format was intended to counteract – and therefore any suggestion that contributions had been written with publication in mind served to undermine their status as trustworthy accounts of travel.

As Benedict suggests, anthologies 'possess a consistent form that induces a particular kind of perusal, and they contain works written for publication. They are the genre of the age of mass print'.³⁶ While she refers to the heyday of the anthology as located in the eighteenth-century I suggest that we might at least consider the possibility that Macmillan's plan for a series bringing together timely accounts of travel undertaken in different parts of the world by different authors might signal an

³³ On Hakluyt see R.C. Bridges and P.E.H. Hair, *Compassing the Vaste Globe of the Earth: Studies in the History of the Hakluyt Society, 1846-1996: With a Complete List of the Society's Publications*, (London: Hakluyt Society, 1996); W.H. Sherman, 'Stirrings and searchings (1500-1720) in P. Hulme and T. Youngs (eds.), *The Cambridge Companion to Travel Writing* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2002), 22-24.

³⁴ Benedict, 'The eighteenth-century anthology and the construction of the expert reader', 378; B.M. Benedict, 'The paradox of the anthology: collecting and *différence* in eighteenth-century Britain, *New Literary History*, 34 (2003), 231.

³⁵ A. Macmillan to F. Galton, March 4, 1861, Macmillan Archive Add. MS55839, 310, British Library.

³⁶ Benedict, 'The eighteenth-century anthology and the construction of the expert reader', 378.

attempt to reinvent the anthology for the age of mass reading. Macmillan would target his volume at the aspirant middle classes – ‘ordinary tourists’ he called them – seeking to provide a publication which was both entertaining and instructive. Moreover, by collecting together travels from across the globe he hoped to limit the need for readers to consult a wide number of (potentially inferior) works.

5.2 Serial Collaborations: Challenges and Opportunities

Having explored how the concept for the series developed, this section looks in more detail at the challenges faced by Macmillan and Galton as they attempted to put their plan for a new travel series into action. Macmillan and Galton agreed early on that they should aim to go into print by February 1861 and that any subsequent volumes should follow a similar schedule. Both men would draw upon their respective personal and institutional affiliations to attract contributors to the project. Yet, as Galton understood, much of the travel included in the series would likely be seasonal, meaning that enquiries as to potential contributors would not be able to begin until the autumn when ‘Most of the travelling world [would] then have returned’.³⁷ This left a relatively short window for gathering participants, editing essays and publishing the finished product.

A False Start: *Cambridge Tourists* to *Vacation Tourists* and *Notes of Travel*

Macmillan and Galton would soon decide that it would not be viable to compile a series along the lines they had imagined. ‘After some enquiry’ Galton reported to Macmillan that he would ‘have difficulty in making a volume such as he would like from Cambridge mens [sic] doings’. Editor and publisher obviously had faith in those contributions that had already been secured and decided that rather than abandon the volume altogether they would ‘widen [their] lens’ and seek ‘contributions from Oxford & other travellers [and] rambles’.³⁸ The series was thus renamed *Vacation Tourists* in 1860.

³⁷ F. Galton to A. Macmillan, October 24, 1863, Macmillan Archive Add. MS55218, 2, British Library.

³⁸ A. Macmillan to A.P. Stanley, Dec. 1 1860, Macmillan Archive Add. MS55839, 47, British Library; A. Macmillan to H.F. Tozer, December 14 1860, Macmillan Archive, Add. MS55839, 86-87, British Library. *The Times* was instructed to alter an advert announcing the series prior to the publication of Macmillan and Co.’s List of New Works within its classified section. Due to a “stupid blunder”, however, adverts for both “Cambridge Tourists” and the newly named “Vacation Tourists” were published side by side on December 4, 1860. A. Macmillan to F. Galton, December 4, 1860, Macmillan Archive Add. MS55839, 67, British Library; *The Times*, December 4 1860, 12.

The content of the first published volume goes some way to suggesting why the original plan for a volume of Cambridge tours was abandoned (Figure 5.1). Cambridge scholars unsurprisingly made up a significant proportion of that volume. Yet there was also a bias towards travel in mountainous regions with four of the thirteen contributors already members of the Alpine Club (John J. Cowell, Leslie Stephen, F. V. Hawkins, and John Tyndall (one of the few contributors not to have attended Cambridge)). If they had continued to pursue Cambridge scholars alone there was a real possibility that the series would be too similar to *Peaks, Passes and Glaciers* to be viable commercially.³⁹

Shortly after Macmillan and Galton decided to seek contributions from a wider range of travellers, the series title was amended once more to *Vacation Tourists and Notes of Travel in 1860*. The additional reference to ‘notes of travel’ was designed to allow for the inclusion of ‘anything having to do with moving about in foreign parts’ within the series.⁴⁰ Such an addition could send an important message to both potential contributors and readers alike. As Steward asserts, from the mid-nineteenth century onwards, it became increasingly common to distinguish between different ‘tourist types’ based upon their particular ‘tastes, preferences and motivations’.⁴¹ Thus, associations were made between particular modes of travelling and levels of respectability, associations which were made and re-made in the printed media which was simultaneously attempting to separate reading communities along similar lines of class, gender and so on. Moreover, different readerships themselves became increasingly eager to differentiate their own travelling behaviours from those of other social classes. James Buzzard argues that ‘tourist’ and ‘tourism’ acquired increasingly negative connotations during the nineteenth century as they became associated with the kind of organised travel that Thomas Cook and others had facilitated. However, when Macmillan requested that Galton stress in his preface that ‘short jottings from other than tourists’ might be included in the series I think he intended to stress that the series was not limited to either

³⁹ Nine Club members contributed to the *Vacation Tourists* series between 1861 and 1864: John Cowell, Francis Hawkins, Leslie Stephen, John Tyndall, Philip Lutley Sclater, Roden Noel, Richard St John Tyrwhitt, Henry Tozer and Francis Galton. A.L. Mumm, *The Alpine Club Register, 1857-1863*, (London: Edward Arnold, 1923), 110.

⁴⁰ A. Macmillan to S. Austin, December 3, 1863, Macmillan Archive, Add. MS55381(2), 698, British Library.

⁴¹ J. Steward, ‘How and Where to Go’: The Role of Travel Journalism in Britain and the Evolution of Foreign Tourism, 1840-1914’ in J.K. Walton (ed.), *Histories of Tourism: Representation, Identity and Conflict* (Clevedon: Channel View Publications, 2005), 40, 41-44.

predictable package tourism *or* the kind of elite travels associated with the Grand Tour of earlier decades.⁴² Indeed when contributors expressed doubts as to whether their particular travels might be suited to *Vacation Tourists* it was not because they doubted the respectability of the series but rather because of the particular nature of their travels. Galton for instance, reassured a doubtful Charles Mayo that his paper on the 'The medical service of the federal army' was indeed suited to the third volume in the series, citing Richard Collinson's account of nine weeks in Canada and William Durrant's of the Kru coast, Las Palmas and the Niger as evidence that the series was not 'restricted by the epithet "Vacation"' (Indeed the series would become increasingly diverse with each volume as Figures 5.1-5.3 show).⁴³

With the series no longer limited to either Cambridge authors or 'Vacation' tours, the Royal Geographical Society became an important recruiting ground.⁴⁴ Despite Macmillan's own assertion that he was 'a poor untraveled homebound man', he was elected as a Fellow of the Royal Geographical Society in January 1861 following his nomination by Galton.⁴⁵ William Spottiswoode, whose brother George provided an account of their travels in Croatia and Hungary for the first volume, supported Macmillan's election as FRGS as did the aforementioned Richard Collinson. Cartographer Ernst Georg Ravenstein, a long serving member on the RGS Council also supplied maps for the series.

However, expanding the scope of the series did not entirely solve the problem of securing support. Although many offers were forthcoming, it was not uncommon for authors to withdraw from the project, even in the later stages of the production process. Several weeks after being invited to take part in the project, Cyril Graham, for example, advised Macmillan that he would be able to offer a paper on Syria but not until the end of January. Although this would be just two weeks before Macmillan had hoped the series would debut, he accepted the offer, convinced that Graham's paper would 'be an important element' of the first volume.

⁴² A. Macmillan to F. Galton, March 4, 1861, Macmillan Archive Add. MS55839, 370, British Library.

⁴³ F. Galton to A. Macmillan, November 17, [1863], Macmillan Archive Add. MS55218, 16, British Library.

⁴⁴ Just over one-third of the contributors to the series were also Fellows of the Royal Geographical Society: Royal Geographical Society, *List of Fellows of the Royal Geographical Society*, xvii-lxxiii.

⁴⁵ William Spottiswoode and Richard Collinson supported the nomination leading to his election as FRGS. Spottiswoode's brother would contribute to the first volume of the series whilst Collinson would provide a paper for the second. F. Herbert, 'The Royal Geographical Society's membership, the map trade, and geographical publishing in Britain 1830 to ca 1930: an introductory essay with listing of some 250 Fellows in related professions', *Imago Mundi*, 35 (1983), 85.

However, Graham's late enrolment in the venture meant that there was a degree of uncertainty over the amount of space that each author could be allowed to occupy. As George Kingsley found out, for instance, it was necessary to err on the side of caution rather than risk expanding the volume much beyond the 500 pages that the publisher had in mind. As Macmillan explained to Kingsley,

[...] we may be obliged now to ask you not to increase in bulk very much more. We must see what the others make as soon as possible but we cannot quite fix Mr Graham as he finds it impossible to give it us before the end of January, when I hope all the others will be printed.⁴⁶

Graham though would cause significant disruption when he withdrew from the project at the last minute, leaving Roden Noel to step in to fill the gap. Noel had previously offered a paper on Syria but was advised that arrangements had already been made with Graham. Macmillan thus suggested that Noel might 'divide the article in some way so as to use part of it now [and] the rest might with modification suit some other time or place,' essentially suggesting that Noel do exactly what *Vacation Tourists* had been created to avoid.⁴⁷ However, with Graham's departure, Macmillan contacted David Masson, editor of *Macmillan's Magazine* to obtain a replacement and Noel found his services were required after all.⁴⁸ It would later transpire that Graham had decided to publish a book on his Syrian travels instead.

The exact reasons as to why authors withdrew from the series were not always clear from the correspondence in the Macmillan archive. However, the case of sinologist Thomas Wade highlights that while signed articles were lauded as a means of opening authors up to scrutiny this was not always a welcome development for the authors concerned, especially if they held an official position. Diplomat and sinologist Thomas Wade for example had agreed to contribute to the final volume in the series but was adamant that his name must not appear in print.⁴⁹ By January 1864 the paper was well in hand with Galton and Macmillan discussing possible titles in advance of its being sent to the printer (Galton suggested 'jotted notes in China' or

⁴⁶ A. Macmillan to G. Kingsley, December 31, 1860, Macmillan Archive, British Library Add. MS55839, 135, British Library.

⁴⁷ A. Macmillan to R. Noel, January 1 1861, Macmillan Archive Add. MS55839, 122, British Library.

⁴⁸ A. Macmillan to D. Masson, February 4, 1861, Macmillan Archive Add. MS55839, 280, British Library; A. Macmillan to F. Galton, February 4, 1861, Macmillan Archive, British Library Add. MS55839, 282

⁴⁹ F. Galton to A. Macmillan, Jan. 8 186[4], Macmillan Archive Add. MS55218, 2, British Library

‘Chinese topics’).⁵⁰ Although Galton had promised Macmillan that he would try to convince Wade ‘to overcome his scruples’⁵¹ the author stood firm. Macmillan was seemingly happy to accept the insertion of a pseudonym – ‘photo-sina’ – under the circumstances, explaining to Galton that he could ‘quite understand Mr Wade’s feeling’.⁵² It appears, however, that this concession was not enough to convince Wade that appearing in the series would do no harm to his reputation for in March, having again missed their February deadline, Galton concluded ‘we must let off Wade’.⁵³

Although Macmillan and Galton were initially convinced that they would have little trouble securing support from authors who wished to write for their composite form, in practice, these examples suggest that they found the process of attracting and retaining authors more difficult than they had anticipated. Indeed while preparations were made for a volume of *Vacation Tourists in 1862*, Macmillan and Galton found that they could not secure commitments from sufficient authors as might provide the kinds of papers they hoped to publish. They therefore agreed to postpone publication for the meantime and reassess the viability of the series the following year. Although the series was only two years old, it had made sufficient impact for authors and readers to contact the publisher when a third volume was not announced as expected. When a new volume did appear in 1864 it contained travels undertaken between 1862 and 1863. Although this meant it was less topical, Galton explained that ‘It was thought better to delay, until the material at the editor’s disposal had so far accumulated as to call for a new Volume, rather than to force the publication of “Vacation Tourists” to a formal period of issue’. While the travels undertaken were not quite as topical as in previous volumes, Galton assured readers that ‘the present Volume will be found as fully as interesting as either of its predecessors. There is certainly far more variety in its contents’.⁵⁴ It was better then, to depart from the planned rhythm of publication than to produce a volume of inferior quality, a sentiment which the *Daily News* also expressed, saying of the third

⁵⁰ F. Galton to A. Macmillan, January 25, 1864, Macmillan Archive Add. MS55218, 25, British Library

⁵¹ F. Galton to A. Macmillan, Jan. 8 186[4], Macmillan Archive Add. MS55218, 2, British Library

⁵² A. Macmillan to F. Galton, Jan. 28 1864, Macmillan Archive Add. MS55382, 103, British Library.

⁵³ F. Galton to A. Macmillan, Mar. 10 1864, Macmillan Archive Add. MS55218, 35, British Library.

⁵⁴ F. Galton, ‘Preface’, *Vacation Tourists and Notes of Travel in 1862-3*, (Cambridge: Macmillan and Co., 1864), v.

volume 'It is worth waiting for and he has exercised a wise discretion in not forcing the publication for the sake of formal periodicity'.⁵⁵

Attracting and retaining sufficient contributions for each volume was only one challenge, however. Further delays occurred when Galton and Macmillan's 'literary assistance' was not well-received. Although both publisher and editor had made it clear to each contributor that they were seeking concise papers offering a degree of novel information which might interest and educate the 'ordinary' middle-class reader, it was clear that individuals had different ideas of what was required to satisfy these aims.

Certainly Galton was less than impressed with the letters of Lady Duff Gordon which were edited for the purpose of publication by her mother Sarah Austin. His initial assessment of Gordon's writings from the Cape was that whilst they largely contained the 'merest trifles' and 'the subject [was] very hackneyed', she nevertheless '[wrote] with great freshness and there [were] some incidents worth record'. He suggested to Macmillan that 'a good short paper' might be made if her material was condensed considerably. However, Austin's reluctance to adopt the suggested changes marked the beginning of a fierce argument. With neither Galton nor Austin wishing to deal with one another directly it fell to Macmillan to mediate between the pair and to seek some form of compromise. As was common, Macmillan arranged for a third advisor with experience of the region in question, to offer an additional opinion. Hoets had lived in the Cape and provided an assessment which was as damning as Galton's yet Austin was resolutely opposed to making changes to her manuscript, making only minor concessions. Thus it was mid-February 1863 before Macmillan and Galton relented agreeing that her piece was now 'sufficiently complete to pass as a paper'.⁵⁶ Galton was still not convinced that the letters which Austin presented offered sufficient information of interest and value to warrant publication arguing that the paper offered 'an imperfect, inaccurate & for the most part feeble view of the Cape & its manners. She lived an isolated life when there & saw too little of it to judge; she had not previously read about it & she has rushed into all sorts of crude notions'.⁵⁷ Too much time had been spent arguing over the paper to risk losing it entirely and it was also widely anticipated. However, when

⁵⁵ *Vacation Tourists and Notes of Travel in 1862-3* [Review], *Daily News* Nov. 2, 1864.

⁵⁶ F. Galton to A. Macmillan, February 10, 1863, Macmillan Archive Add. MS55218, 31, British Library.

⁵⁷ F. Galton to A. Macmillan, Jan. 7 1864, Macmillan Archive Add. MS55218, 21, British Library.

Macmillan subsequently realised that Austin's material was still 46 pages above the limit she had been given. Macmillan reopened the debate urging her 'to make a suitable adjustment' so that the paper was no longer than 90 pages. Thus, while it was assumed that the serial format encourage precision, in practice this was rarely the case with both publisher and editor having to make repeated requests to several authors who struggled to keep within the limits they were given. Indeed Macmillan approached Austin again on March 9th encouraging her to cooperate: 'If you could cut down 6 or 8 pages it would be a relief, and some of the matter seemed to me capable of such compression'.⁵⁸ Because the publisher and author were so keen to avoid any further delays, Austin had effectively held them to ransom.

John Willis Clark also highlighted that authors were not always inclined to cooperate with their editors and publishers. Galton questioned some of the material in Clark's paper on Iceland and cited the recently published work by Commander C.S. Forbes, *Iceland: Its Volcanoes, Geysers and Glaciers* as the reason for his discomfort. However, Clark interpreted Galton's review of his paper as a sign that his input was no longer welcome in the volume, causing Macmillan much distress: 'He thinks you mean to reject his article wholly, and is in consequent very indignant, and his friends [...] partake of his indignation'.⁵⁹ Although Macmillan reassured Galton that 'that you are certainly right and he is wrong,' he also added that 'in spite of this it is quite clear that unless we mean to risk annoying him and his friends grievously we must put his article in'. Although Galton believed that Forbes' book had tempered the value of Clark's paper, Macmillan was convinced that they had no choice but to include it in the series. He explained,

There would be a peculiar impropriety in not having him in as I told you: for, besides that we asked him to write and this with the knowledge that Forbe's book was coming, and so have hardly any right to refuse when he has done his best, it was as you remember in a conversation with him the idea originated.⁶⁰

Thus, although Macmillan did encourage the author to alter passages according to Galton's instructions the publisher acknowledged that they would have to accept it in

⁵⁸ A. Macmillan to Mrs Austin, March 9 1864, Macmillan Archive Add. MS55382, 273, British Library.

⁵⁹ A. Macmillan to F. Galton, January 22, 1861, Macmillan Archive Add. MS55839, 229-230, British Library.

⁶⁰ A. Macmillan to F. Galton, January 22, 1861, Macmillan Archive Add. MS55839, 229-30, British Library.

whatever state Clark offered it. He reassured Galton though that because the author 'gives his name and is a fellow of Trinity', Clark alone would be held responsible for any inaccuracies it might contain. Thus although the series was intended to both entertain and educate, Macmillan believed that the burden fell upon the author not the publisher or editor to ensure that the information offered in the series was not only original but also accurate. Additionally, he suggested that the 'one middling article' would not damage 'the general character of the volume' highlighting that while each author might be held responsible for the merits of their individual papers, each volume would still be judged on its overall contribution.

Macmillan's practice of advertising each volume well in advance of its being completed both privately to potential authors and publicly through the periodical press could help to attract authors and readers to the series. However, it also carried a degree of risk. In January 1861, for example, following the aforementioned disagreement over John Willis Clark's paper, Macmillan complained to Galton that 'the same Commander C.S. Forbes who has interfered with the younger Clark's paper has just published by Blackwood the "Campaigns of Garibaldi" interfering with the orator'.⁶¹ Whilst the publisher stopped short of accusing either Forbes or William Blackwood of any intentional wrongdoing, he did highlight that 'the coincidence is strange as neither book was planned when our plan was announced'.⁶² Thus while the hasty production schedule could offer authors a relatively quick route to publication, early advertising could encourage others with work in preparation to publish sooner than they might have otherwise. Of course the fact that the publication repeatedly encountered delays heightened this possibility.

Macmillan was certainly keen to do what he could to limit interference with the series, however. Although several contributors would subsequently author articles and books based upon the same travels they recounted in *Vacation Travels* (with many appearing in *Macmillan's Magazine* in particular), the publisher prohibited the reprinting of whole articles in other serial ventures. Bowen, for example, sought Macmillan's consent to have his piece on Peru reprinted by a 'Railway publisher'. The publisher replied stating that while 'It looks very dog-in-the-manger when we are not going to reprint the volume of "Tourists" to be throwing

⁶¹ A. Macmillan to F. Galton, January 22, 1861, Macmillan Archive Add. MS55839, 230, British Library.

⁶² A. Macmillan to F. Galton, January 22, 1861, Macmillan Archive Add. MS55839, 230, British Library.

obstacles in the way of your reprinting your paper' but nevertheless refused to grant his permission.⁶³ As Macmillan explained, 'at least half a dozen others might wish to do the same' and if this were to happen, 'the very idea of [the] book would be shattered before it came to a second birth'.⁶⁴ Macmillan was also aware that just as the firm 'still [had] a few copies left unsold' so too was it likely that there would 'still be copies in the hands of booksellers who would feel aggrieved at what they had bought as a sort of standard book, being hacked to pieces as a portion of railway library'.⁶⁵ Reprinting Bowen's essay elsewhere would undermine the series' claim to originality but also threaten its status as a source of high quality articles.

It has already been noted that *Vacation Tourists* was designed not only to entertain but also educate the middle-classes. However, this had to be achieved within certain limits: the difficulties experienced by the authors in terms of working within the physical constraints of each volume – they were initially allocated approximately 80 pages each – has already been alluded to. Furthermore, Macmillan was reluctant to include illustrative materials unless 'they would alter interest or clearness in any important degree'.⁶⁶ The reasons for this were both financial and practical. As well as increasing the cost of production, charts, maps and engravings could provoke as much disagreement as the text of an essay and thus add considerable time to the process of getting the papers ready for the printers. Macmillan also suggested that illustrations were only worthwhile if they had not appeared in print previously, instructing Galton to inquire as to whether the 'very curious and interesting' lithograph of the wooden church of Borgund which Tozer hoped to include in his paper on Norway was really worth the expense.⁶⁷ However, Macmillan admitted that if there was a second volume of the series, they would 'have to go in to the illustrations earlier and try to make them more complete'.⁶⁸ Indeed by limiting the amount of illustrative materials the publisher risked incurring

⁶³ A. Macmillan to C. Bowen, August 27, 1861, Macmillan Archive Add. MS55840, 221-22, British Library.

⁶⁴ A. Macmillan to C. Bowen, August 27, 1861, Macmillan Archive Add. MS55840, 221-22, British Library.

⁶⁵ A. Macmillan to C. Bowen, August 27, 1861, Macmillan Archive Add. MS55840, 221-22, British Library.

⁶⁶ A. Macmillan to F. Galton, Dec. 31 1860, Macmillan Archive Add. MS55839, 134-135, British Library.

⁶⁷ A. Macmillan to H.F. Tozer, December 26, 1860, Macmillan Archive Add. MS55839, 125; A. Macmillan to F. Galton, December 26, 1860, Macmillan Archive, British Library Add. MS55839, 126.

⁶⁸ A. Macmillan to F. Galton, January 22. 1861, Macmillan Archive Add. MS55839, 229-230, British Library.

negative comparisons with *Peaks, Passes and Glaciers* and the numerous book-length accounts to which illustrations were central. The second volume of the series though contained ten maps to eleven papers, a fact which Macmillan eagerly promoted in his adverts. However, after the break in the series, Macmillan seemingly decided that there was too much risk in illustrating a volume which may not sell and so dispensed with maps entirely on the third outing of *Vacation Tourists*.

Macmillan's initial decision to produce a series dedicated to different accounts of travel from around the world was based on the assumption that the format would encourage precision in writing, providing a venue for authors who had too much material for a normal periodical article (as might appear in *Macmillan's Magazine*) but not enough for a book-length project. In so doing the venture would, it was believed, appeal to both authors and readers alike, removing the temptation to exaggerate and embellish in order to fill the page. In practice, however, Macmillan and Galton struggled to attract and retain contributors who could offer a range of accounts of travel written in a style which would be accessible to 'general readers'. The physical dimensions of the serial essay proved challenging for most authors with their texts often exceeding the limits given by Macmillan, sparking debates between publisher, editor and author as to which material ought to be retained and which dispensed with. Moreover, whilst the annual series was intended to present topical and novel information, the delays which were inevitable given the publication schedule and number of authors involved, threatened to undermine the value of the series in these respects. Certainly Galton had severe reservations about more than one of the essays which went into print.

5.3 Advertising and Circulation

As we have seen, Macmillan and Galton believed that there was demand for a series uniting accounts of different kinds of travel conducted around the globe, aimed at a middle-class audience with a general interest in travel. However, as the previous section has shown, putting this idea into print was more challenging than they might have initially assumed. The remainder of the chapter moves the focus of the discussion out of the publishing house and into the wider market, examining how Macmillan and others presented the series to potential readers.

It was common practice for publishers to advertise forthcoming works long in advance of their publication in the hope of building anticipation. As this chapter

has already noted, this was a tactic deployed in relation to *Vacation Tourists and Notes of Travel*. Macmillan announced that the series was 'in preparation' even before the concept was settled upon with *Cambridge Tourists in 1860* being announced in November 1860.⁶⁹ By January 1861, several 'literary gossip' columns were claiming that the newly-titled *Vacation Tourists* was imminent despite the fact that the production process was far from completion.⁷⁰ These adverts, which emphasised Galton's involvement as editor, drawing on his reputation as an experienced traveller to lend weight to the new series seemingly proved effective, with Macmillan reporting that 'people [were] beginning to look for the book' in February 1861.⁷¹ After failing to meet the advertised publication date, Macmillan again advertised the series but this time in more detail, giving a full list of contributors and the regions their papers surveyed.⁷² A similar sequence was followed for next volume in the series although after postponing the third in the project, Macmillan began to re-advertise *Vacation Tourists, and Notes of Travel in 1861* throughout the winter of 1863-4, before finally announcing that a third volume was forthcoming.⁷³

Overall, these advertising strategies appear to have paid off. The first volume 'sold in the London trade about 750 copies the first day' which Macmillan told Galton was 'very promising'.⁷⁴ By April 6th sales had exceeded one thousand and Macmillan was pleased to report that there was 'demand more or less every day'.⁷⁵ There would not, however, be enough demand for a second print run.⁷⁶ Although it is unclear how many copies subsequent volumes sold, Macmillan did admit to Arthur Gordon that the second volume had not been 'quite so successful as its predecessor' and revealed that this was one of the reasons that had persuaded Galton to postpone

⁶⁹ 'Macmillan and Co's List of New Works', *The Times*, November 24, 1860 and December 4, 1860.

⁷⁰ 'Art and Literary Gossip', *Manchester Times*, February 23, 1861; 'Literary Gossip', *Lloyd's Weekly Newspaper*, January 27, 1861, 8.

⁷¹ A. Macmillan to F. Galton, February 23, 1861, Macmillan Archive Add. MS55839, 346, British Library.

⁷² 'Vacation Tourists and Notes of Travel in 1860', *Notes and Queries*, March 9, 1861.

⁷³ 'Macmillan and Co's New List', *The Times*, November 6, 1863, 12; 'Macmillan & Co's New List', *Notes and Queries*, January 9, 1864; 'Macmillan & Co's New List', *Notes and Queries*, March 12, 1864.

⁷⁴ A. Macmillan to Messers Clay Son and Taylor, March 9, 1861, Macmillan Archive Add. MS55839, 390, British Library; A. Macmillan to F. Galton, Macmillan Archive, British Library Add. MS55839, 408, British Library.

⁷⁵ A. Macmillan to F. Galton, April 6, 1861, Macmillan Archive Add. MS55839, 481, British Library.

⁷⁶ A. Macmillan to F. Galton, March 23, 1861, Macmillan Archive Add. MS55389, 429, British Library.

the next number in the series.⁷⁷ The failure to publish a fourth volume can only mean that there was not sufficient interest from either authors or readers to warrant the continuation of the series, although Galton suggested that the series did 'pay its way'.⁷⁸

Booksellers

Macmillan's revelation that the first volume of *Vacation Tourists* 'sold in the London trade about 750 copies the first day' reminds us that publishers often did not sell directly to readers but rather to other intermediaries. This fact is also emphasised when we examine the range of advertisements for the series in more detail. A number of booksellers promoted the series as a means of attracting custom. James Macle hose, the publisher, bookseller and long-time associate of Alexander Macmillan, for example named the work as one of the 'New Books for Reading Clubs' that could be found in his shop in Glasgow's St. Vincent Street.⁷⁹ Macle hose also advertised the Western Book Club and the New Guinea Book Club and again used *Vacation Tourists* as indicative of 'the character of the Books in daily circulation'.⁸⁰ Similarly, *Vacation Tourists and Notes of Travel in 1862-3*, was one of six publications that D. Wyllie & Son, booksellers of Aberdeen, used to reinforce their claim that they sold 'all the new Books and Periodicals as soon as published'.⁸¹ However, as these adverts were placed by intermediaries, neither Macmillan nor Galton could control how they positioned *Vacation Tourists*. For instance, W.S. Simes listed the series as one of many 'Cheap Books' which could be had at heavily discounted rates from their store in Glasgow's Sauchiehall Street. Whilst Macmillan had intended the work to be seen as 'popular', even using the word in his own adverts, he had also tried to create a high-quality work. Advertising the series as 'cheap' had the potential to undermine the publisher's intentions as the relationship between 'cheap' books and 'popular' ones was somewhat unclear, with popular often being used to describe poor quality or tawdry works which would of course have been much less expensive than the kind of books Macmillan was used to

⁷⁷ A. Macmillan to A.H. Gordon, March 25, 1861, Macmillan Archive Add. MS55381, 56, British Library.

⁷⁸ F. Galton, *Memories of My Life*, 187.

⁷⁹ 'Advertisements and Notices', *Glasgow Herald*, March 27, 1861, 1.

⁸⁰ 'Advertisements and Notices', *Glasgow Herald*, September 5, 1861, 1; September 12, 1861, 1; October 3, 1861, 1 and; October 17, 1861, 1.

⁸¹ 'Advertisements', *The Aberdeen Journal*, August 31, 1864, 4.

producing.⁸² Bull's Library avoided the potential for confusion by advertising *Galton's Vacation Tourists* as one of the 'Superior Cheap Books' they had for sale.⁸³ Selling volumes at a reduced price, often as a result of surplus stock being left, potentially extended the audience for the series. Simes, for instance, halved the original selling price to 7 shillings. The dramatic reduction in the price of the work suggests that demand for the work among readers who could afford to pay a higher rate per volume had dropped significantly by the time these adverts appeared. It is interesting to note the positioning of many of these adverts. Readers of newspapers such as the *Examiner* might find an advert for *Vacation Tourists* sitting alongside one for day tickets on the Great North Eastern Railway or for another for maps and guidebooks of various English counties.⁸⁴ That adverts for works of travel should be placed alongside those for the means of travel may well be coincidental. However, it was not an uncommon occurrence and even if only a coincidence, it is an interesting one at that. We can though speculate as to whether individuals making travel arrangements were encouraged to seek out reading material for their journeys after seeing such advertising spreads or indeed vice versa.

Libraries

It was not only the support of booksellers, however, that Macmillan relied upon to make *Vacation Tourists* a successful venture. In particular, gaining Charles Edward Mudie's endorsement was an important means of extending the work's influence. Mudie's Select Library was the best known of the Victorian circulating libraries. It contained in excess of 600,000 volumes by the time the first of the *Vacation Tourists* volumes appeared and, for a payment of one guinea, allowed customers to borrow an unlimited number of books, one at a time, for a whole year. Mudie also offered a 'First-Class Country Subscription' which allowed readers outside of London to borrow up to fifteen volumes at one time, 'exchangeable (in sets) at pleasure' for a fee of five guineas per annum.⁸⁵ As Landow notes, Mudie's lists of the 'Principal New Works' could be seen as a kind of bestseller list.⁸⁶ It acted not only to advertise

⁸² 'Cheap Books at W.S. Simes', *Glasgow Herald*, March 21, 1863, 2.

⁸³ 'Superior Cheap Books at Bull's Library', *The Times*, June 5, 1863, 13; June 18, 1863, 3.

⁸⁴ 'Advertisements', *The Examiner*, March 16, 1861, 175; See also *The Times*, June 18, 1863; June 25, 1863.

⁸⁵ 'Mudies Select Library', *The Examiner*, April 6, 1861, 224.

⁸⁶ G. P. Landow, 'Mudie's Circulating Library and the Victorian Novel [Review]', *Modern Philology* 69 (1972), 367.

that the latest books could be obtained from his establishments but also, in light of the fact that his Select Library had been established 'to promote the more general circulation of the best New Works in History, Biography, Religion, Philosophy, Travel and Adventure, and the Higher Class of Fiction', served to reassure readers that the works he listed were of suitable quality for those interested in a 'higher class' of reading material.⁸⁷ Mudie is often noted for the impact he had upon the market in fictional novels on account of his support of the three-decker format but the initial rationale for the library was to aid the circulation of non-fictional works especially and even as his collection grew, non-fiction remained an important focus.⁸⁸ Because of his buying power – he had purchased 3,250 copies of Livingstone's *Missionary Travels* in 1857, for instance – his support was often crucial to the success, or otherwise, of a publishing venture.⁸⁹ Alexander Macmillan discussed *Vacation Tourists* with Mudie in January 1861, explaining 'It is a new venture for me and may be as good as the fancy comes to the generous public'.⁹⁰ Keen no doubt to convince Mudie that there might be a demand for the series among subscribers of his Library, the publisher also noted that 'There is a good variety – Naples, Alps, Peru, Russia, Syria, Norway – and all good men. Clark's on Naples & Garibaldi is admirable. Sparkling'.⁹¹ Although we do not know to what degree, Mudie did lend *Vacation Tourists* his support, advertising the series from the outset as part of his 'Select List'.

The newly established W.H. Smith & Son's subscription library also carried *Vacation Tourists*, and *Notes of Travel*. The firm had built up a strong base of book stalls situated within railway stations, expanding its influence alongside the railway system. From 1860 onwards these stalls would also offer readers to the opportunity to borrow books. As Simon Eliot explains, in 1861 the firm was lending titles from some 177 stalls and it is likely, given their location, that these works were going to commuters as the volumes had to be returned to the same stall from which they had

⁸⁷ 'Mudies Select Library', *The Examiner*, April 6, 1861, 224.

⁸⁸ Simon Eliot calculates that in 1857 75% of Mudie's catalogue referred to non-fiction works. By 1869 this figure was 65%. S. Eliot 'Circulating Libraries in the Victorian Age and After' in A. Black and P. Hoare (eds) *The Cambridge History of Libraries in Britain and Ireland Volume III: 1850-2000* (Cambridge Histories Online: Cambridge University Press, 2008), 134.

⁸⁹ S. Eliot, 'Circulating Libraries in the Victorian Age and After', 133.

⁹⁰ A. Macmillan to E. Mudie, January 12, 1861, Macmillan Archive Add. MS55839, 187-188, British Library.

⁹¹ A. Macmillan to E. Mudie, January 12, 1861, Macmillan Archive Add. MS55839, 187-188, British Library.

been borrowed.⁹² Smith's list of titles in circulation also contained the prices of available volumes, highlighting that readers had a choice whether to borrow or buy works such as *Vacation Tourists* whilst passing through the station stalls.⁹³ E. Cludlow and Son's Subscription Library based in Derby offered the same terms as Mudie – a single subscription for guinea a year – and also published a list of 'Principal Works of the Present Season' that could be had in their establishment. As well as *Vacation Tourists*, their list included a large number of works on travel including *Peaks, Passes and Glaciers*, *Du Chaillu's Gorilla Country* and *Bishop Smith's Japan* but also a range of other scientific, religious and fictional works.⁹⁴ Cludlow included *Galton's Vacation Tourists in 1861* in their list of 'Books for All Readers in Circulation at Cludlow's Subscription Library'. As Macmillan had hoped, the work was presented as being suitable for a general reading audience.⁹⁵

Interestingly, a number of commercial libraries continued to promote *Vacation Tourists in 1862-3* as a 'New Book of Travel', throughout 1865 and into 1866, highlighting that even though Macmillan may have curtailed the hard-sell by this point, it remained in the interests of the libraries who had obtained 'ample supply' of such volumes to continue to promote them.⁹⁶ Additionally, it reminds us that readers could have encountered the series for some time after the initial publication of each individual volume, whether through advertisements, bookshops or libraries.

A number of the public libraries that had expanded since the 1850 Public Libraries Act also stocked *Vacation Tourists*. Derby Town and Country Library, Plymouth Public Library, Birmingham Library, Nottingham Free Library and Cardiff Free Lending Library were among those which stocked the work.⁹⁷ These libraries

⁹² S. Eliot 'Circulating Libraries in the Victorian Age and After', 139-142.

⁹³ 'W.H. Smith & Son's Subscription Library' in C. Idle, *Hints in Shooting and Fishing, &c. Both on Sea and Land, and in the Freshwater Lochs of Scotland* (London: Longman, Brown, Green, and Longmans, 1855).

⁹⁴ 'List of the Principal Works of the Present Season', *The Derby Mercury*, November 6, 1861, 1; November 27, 1861, 1.

⁹⁵ 'Books for All Readers in Circulation at Cludlow's Subscription Library', *The Derby Mercury*, May 7, 1862, 1.

⁹⁶ 'Mudie's Select Library', *Daily News*, April 10, 1865, 8; 'Advertisements and Notices', *The Derby Mercury*, November 29, 1865, 4; December 6, 1865, 8; December 13, 1865, 8; December 27, 1865, 1; January 10, 1866, 1; January 24, 1866, 1; February 7, 1866, 1; March 21, 1866, 8; April 4, 1866, 8; April 18, 1866, 1; 'Hiscoke & Son's Circulating Library, *Hiscoke and Son's Richmond Notes A Monthly Record of Local Information, for Richmond and its Neighbourhood*, 34 (1865), 148; 'Mudies Select Library', *John Bull*, March 10, 1866, 157.

⁹⁷ 'Town and County Library', *The Derby Mercury*, June 21, 1861, 8; 'Town and County Library', *The Derby Mercury*, May 14, 1862, 8; *Plymouth Public Library A Catalogue of the Books, &c. Added to*

provoked debate as to whether they should carry works designed purely to entertain or whether they should prioritise more sober instructional texts so as to facilitate the self-improvement of the masses. Regardless of where such librarians thought the balance between leisure and learning should be struck, we might legitimately expect that there would have been an attempt to uphold the moral integrity of the library's collections and thus, the presence of *Vacation Tourists* within libraries serving large populations is perhaps a sign of its being sanctioned as accessible and appropriate literature for a mass audience. It is certainly clear that some readers would have had the opportunity to consult this series for free should they have been inclined to do so.

It was not unknown for proprietors of commercial libraries to supplement their incomes by using the same premises to sell books as well as lending them.⁹⁸ For example, *Vacation Tourists and Notes of Travel in 1860* headed up a list of sought-after titles which also included Darwin's *Origin of the Species*, Du Chaillu's *Adventures in Africa* and Tyndall's *Glaciers of the Alps*, all of which had been 'adapted for presents and school prizes' and could be bought at discount from Mudie's premises in New Oxford Street and Museum Street, London.⁹⁹ The presentation of these works in 'ornamental bindings' leads us to ponder the uses such books might have been put to. While the suggestion that they would be ideal school prizes might lead us to assume that were deemed appropriate for a school-age audience, this does not automatically mean that they would have been read by school children or those that received them as presents. As Pearson explains, during the course of the nineteenth century it became increasingly popular to view 'a library as an appropriate accoutrement for respectable households'. As such grand private collections were amassed in 'numerous country houses and town house libraries where the books were essentially there as furniture'.¹⁰⁰

the Library from 1854 to 1861 (Plymouth: Printed by Thomas Jenkins, 1862); *A Catalogue of the books in the Birmingham library, with a copy of the laws and a list of the proprietors*. (Birmingham: 1863); *Index-Catalogue to the Books in the Nottingham Free Library, containing a reference to the headings of, authors, titles, and subjects in one alphabet. Third Supplementary Index Catalogue* (Nottingham: 1868); *Cardiff Free Library and Museum. Catalogue of the Free Lending Library, The Reference Library, and the Boys' Library*. (Cardiff: "Cardiff Times" Steam Printing Office, 1866).

⁹⁸ In fact, as Eliot explains, Circulating libraries were regularly involved in the retail of goods and services quite apart from the print trade. S. Eliot 'Circulating Libraries in the Victorian Age and After'.

⁹⁹ 'Books for Presents' in C. Arribavene *Italy under Victor Emmanuel: A Personal Narrative*. Vol II (London: Hurst and Blackett, Publishers, 1862).

¹⁰⁰ D. Pearson, 'Private Libraries and the Collecting Instinct' in A. Black and P. Hoare (eds) *The Cambridge History of Libraries in Britain and Ireland Volume III: 1850-2000* (Cambridge Histories Online: Cambridge University Press, 2008), 183.

Whereas the use of the books might not have been at the forefront of these collector's minds, a range of Victorian clubs and societies dedicated funds to building up libraries around particular fields on the understanding that their use would help to advance knowledge of, and in, the areas in which they specialised. As was noted in Chapter 2, the Royal Geographical Society, for example, had expressed their desire to 'accumulate gradually a library of the best books on geography – a complete collection of maps and charts from the earliest period of rude geographical delineations to the most improved of the present time' when it was founded in 1830.¹⁰¹ The development of the library, which was aided in particular by the formation of a Library Committee in 1853, reflected the areas of geographical research which were prominent at the time. Thus, as Crone notes, 'it was at first largely devoted to travel, the history of exploration, cartography, hydrography, and classical topography'.¹⁰² The inclusion of *Vacation Tourists* within the library suggested to members that the volumes were considered a trustworthy source of knowledge though at the more popular end of the spectrum. The fact that Galton was editor and a prominent Fellow of the Society with a keen interest in the Library Committee particularly, and that a number of contributors were also Fellows of the society, almost guaranteed that *Vacation Tourists* would be acquired in full by the RGS. However, the appearance of the volumes in some Society libraries is more perplexing, altogether. For instance, the reason for its inclusion in the Library of the Society of Solicitors in the Supreme Courts of Scotland is far from obvious.¹⁰³ Whilst we cannot guarantee of course that these books were borrowed from these libraries, or if so, say by whom, their inclusion does give some indication that they were deemed worthy of acquisition.

We also know that a number of libraries beyond the British Isles also stocked the series. While Macmillan would not open their own New York office until 1869, relationships had been forged with J.B. Lippincott & Co., Scribner's and Pott & Amery some years previously, allowing Macmillan's publications to be distributed in the U.S. and it is likely that these connections go some way to explaining how *Vacation Tourists* ended up in a number of libraries across the Atlantic. The public

¹⁰¹ Prospectus of the Royal Geographical Society', vii-viii; H.R. Mill, *The Record of the Royal Geographical Society 1830-1930* (London: The Royal Geographical Society, 1930), 17-18.

¹⁰² G.R. Crone, 'The library of the Royal Geographical Society', *Geographical Journal*, 121 (1955), 28.

¹⁰³ *A Catalogue of Books in the Library of the Society of Solicitors in the Supreme Courts of Scotland* (Edinburgh: Chapman, 1871).

libraries of Indianapolis, Boston, City of Fall River in Massachusetts, as well as the Mercantile Library of New York and the Boston Athenaeum were among those stocking at least one volume of the series.¹⁰⁴ *Vacation Tourists* also found its way to Australia, appearing in the Free Public Library of Sydney and the Melbourne Public Library, for instance.¹⁰⁵

5.4 Reviewing *Vacation Tourists*

In this final section I consider how *Vacation Tourists and Notes of Travel* was promoted and critiqued by a range of periodical reviewers during the early 1860s. Chapters 2 and 3 have already discussed the extent to which published reviews can be used as evidence of reception. In this chapter I use reviews to explore how the series was presented to different readerships by reviewers, considering both how writers managed the task of reviewing three edited collections which were part of a larger series and the dominant themes which emerged within them. This approach also allows us to begin to consider whether periodical reviewers shared the same understanding of the series as Macmillan and Galton highlighting the mediating influence of publishers, editors and reviewers in the process.

Approaches to Reviewing

In Chapter 3 I discussed the fact that critics approached the task of reviewing *Missionary Travels* in different ways and described how the reviews cohered around a limited set of themes notwithstanding the different responses that individual reviewers offered. The same argument can be made in relation to *Vacation Tourists and Notes of Travel*. However, because each volume of *Vacation Tourists* was a multi-authored work (and part of a larger series), it presented an additional challenge. Many reviewers struggled to simply synthesise and summarise the contents of the work in the space available. Even periodicals which usually offered

¹⁰⁴ *Catalogue of the Public Library of Indianapolis* (Indianapolis: Press of Printing Publishing House, 1873), 339; *Index to the Catalogue of Books in the Bates Hall of the Public Library of Boston. First Supplement* (Boston: J.E. Farwell & Co., 1866), 213; C.M. Smith and G. W. Rankin, *Catalogue of the Public Library of the City of Fall River* (Boston: Rand, Avery & Co., 1874), 135, 355; Mercantile Library Association of the City of New-York, *Catalogue of Books in the Mercantile Library, of the City of New York* (New York: F.F. Taylor, Printer and Stationer, 1866), 139; C. A. Cutter, *Catalogue of the Library of the Boston Athenaeum 1807-1871* (Boston: 1876), 1099.

¹⁰⁵ New South Wales State Library, *Catalogue of the Free Public Library, Sydney*, (Sydney: 1876), 108; *The Catalogue of the Melbourne Public Library, Supplementary Catalogue for 1865*, (Melbourne: John Ferres) 1865, 77.

short extracts would have to find a passage which was indicative of the general character of the whole volume. In periodicals which did offer critical commentary even, it was common to find reviewers concentrating on one or two papers only and encouraging readers to consult the others for themselves. This approach to reviewing renders it more difficult to offer a detailed comparison of responses to specific papers although we can consider why certain essays were favoured over others in particular contexts.

Logically, several reviewers chose to foreground essays which spoke most closely to the concerns of the periodicals for which they wrote. The *Ecclesiastic's* review, for example, chose to focus upon those essays which were 'chiefly concerned with religious matters'. Grieve's paper on 'Church and People of Servia' thus received particular attention with the reviewer noting that 'Our readers will, we think, find much pleasure in learning what vigour the orthodox Church of the East shows in the newly-restored nation of Servia'.¹⁰⁶ Lady Duff-Gordon's letters were used to chastise the 'liberal view of theology', and readers were warned that although Kennedy 'regards the Turkish empire with a certain amount of favour', he nevertheless overlooked 'their worst vices'.¹⁰⁷ Although Tristram's paper was deemed of less relevance on account of its being chiefly 'directed to the natural history of the country' the reviewer nevertheless noted that the author 'casually notices several matters of ecclesiastical interest,' and proceeded to describe the insights provided.¹⁰⁸ Clark's piece on Poland, the reader was told makes 'but small mention' of religious matters and of 'Mr Tyrwhitt, the only other Oriental traveller,' all that could be said was, he 'is altogether secular,' which seemingly rendered the entire contents of his paper irrelevant.¹⁰⁹ The failure to even mention the contents of the rest of the volume seems to suggest that this reviewer felt that it was their duty to communicate religious matters only.

Similarly, although the *Reader*, a Christian socialist weekly covering science, literature and art, would also use the series to make a wider argument about the nature of travel, in discussing the contents of the third volume specifically, the reviewer concentrated on contributions by Charles Mayo and Lady Duff Gordon in order discuss the emancipation of slaves. As the paper insisted, 'From America to

¹⁰⁶ 'Vacation Tourists,' *Ecclesiastic*, 26 (1864), 400.

¹⁰⁷ 'Vacation Tourists,' *Ecclesiastic*, 26 (1864), 408.

¹⁰⁸ 'Vacation Tourists,' *Ecclesiastic*, 26 (1864), 409.

¹⁰⁹ 'Vacation Tourists,' *Ecclesiastic*, 26 (1864), 409.

slavery is so natural a mental transition that we cannot refrain from quoting from Lady Duff Gordon's "Cape" a fearful instance of the ingratitude and spirit of revenge exhibited by the negro races when emancipated without proper precautions'.¹¹⁰ The reviewer was not against emancipation *per se* but rather argued that it must be carefully managed citing Mayo's article as evidence that the US Federal army, whilst 'effectively preventing' such acts of 'revenge' that Duff Gordon had shown possible, had failed to improve the quality of life of those they had professed to liberate. As they reminded their readers, 'Slavery is a base and bad thing, but an emancipation for mere military or political purposes, involving the destruction of the slave, may be worse'.¹¹¹ In such cases then, the value of essays which could be used to support the broader aims of the periodical in question would be emphasised.

Another approach commonly adopted in relation to *Vacation Tourists* was to use the series as an opportunity to reflect more widely upon the nature and appeal of travel and travel-writing in the period. Several such reviews critiqued the tendency of travellers to flee from Britain before becoming adequately acquainted with the 'beauties at their doors' which were amply demonstrated, they claimed, by Kingsley's paper on Sutherlandshire.¹¹² The behaviour of certain groups of travellers whilst abroad was another common complaint. Too often, self-important tourists re-tracing the itineraries outlined in *Murray's* and other guidebooks would abandon all sense of propriety, as the *Athenaeum* complained:

They lay hold of guides, they charge into shops, they suborn hotel waiters, they hold fast innocent gentlemen, whom they meet casually, or to whom they bear letters of introduction, and serve up the results of their intrepidity with a certainty of touch and a complacency of visage which are curious to meet among so reserved as our Englishmen are at home.¹¹³

Alpine travel in particular was repeatedly singled out by reviewers as being both indulgent and irresponsible, on the grounds that 'Feats like these are all very well for the *élite* of the Alpine Club, but they are worse than mischievous for the general English multitude'. Reviewers highlighted that 'courageous guides' could find

¹¹⁰ 'Vacation Tourists,' *Reader*, 4 (1864), 161.

¹¹¹ 'Vacation Tourists,' *Reader*, 4 (1864), 161.

¹¹² 'Notes of Travel', *The Times*, April 4, 1861, 12; J. Samuelson, 'Barmouth', *The Popular Science Review: A Quarterly Miscellany of Entertaining and Instructive Articles on Scientific Subjects*, 2 (1863), 28.

¹¹³ 'Vacation Tourists and Notes of Travel in 1860', *Athenaeum*, 1743 (1863), 390.

themselves risking life and limb to rescue 'some ill-advised tourist' who had endangered themselves trying to establish a 'silly reputation'.¹¹⁴

Indeed the fact that so many tourists returned home convinced that their travels were worthy of publication was another source of annoyance: far too many travel books contained trifling accounts of well-traversed routes, offering no real contribution to knowledge. Indeed as the *London Review's* commentator remarked, 'Everyone, in fact, who can manage to obtain a fortnight's holiday and an excursion-ticket [...] gives the history of a little tour in an octavo or (happier chance!) a duodecimo volume an alliterative title being the only compensation offered for the vapid nature of the contents'.¹¹⁵ However, the *Reader* suggested that it was rarely easy to identify the quality of a publication by its title alone, noting that

many a book heralded as a 'travel', a record of a work of difficulty and danger, should be reduced to the more humble rank of a mere "tour;" and very many of our male and female wanderers who modestly call themselves tourists have a strong claim to be advanced to the higher dignity of traveller.¹¹⁶

This assertion served to reinforce the hierarchical distinction that many reviewers made between the 'tourist' who retraced the same old routes without contributing anything new and the 'traveller' who understood 'the necessity of experience, and ... the dignity of plodding'.¹¹⁷ Yet, as the *Reader's* reviewer also insisted, it was difficult to 'define accurately the boundary line which separates the traveller from the tourist, supposing such a line to exist'.¹¹⁸ In this light, the decision to extend the title of *Vacation Tourists* to include 'notes of travel' appears to have been a wise move. These longer reviews then, provide a sense of the wider context surrounding *Vacation Tourists and Notes of Travel*. While shorter reviews often touched on similar themes they focused much more closely on the series itself, giving a greater sense of whether individual reviewers felt Macmillan and Galton had achieved their aim of providing new information in a form which might entertain and instruct 'ordinary' readers.

¹¹⁴ 'Mountains and Climbers', *Christian Remembrancer: A Quarterly Review*, 42(1862), 362.

¹¹⁵ 'Vacation Tourists and Notes of Travel in 1860', *London Review and Weekly Journal of Politics, Literature, Art, and Society* 2 (1861), 494.

¹¹⁶ 'Vacation Tourists,' *Reader*, 4 (1864), 161.

¹¹⁷ 'Notes of Travel', *The Times*, April 4, 1861, 12.

¹¹⁸ 'Vacation Tourists,' *Reader*, 4 (1864), 161.

The Critics' Assessment

Reviewers disagreed as to whether *Vacation Tourists* was truly a novel approach to travel publishing. The parallels I drew between *Peaks, Passes and Glaciers* and Macmillan's series earlier in this chapter were repeated in many periodicals. However, others were convinced that 'The idea of publishing a yearly volume of the fragmentary notes of distinguished tourists [was] one of the happiest literary novelties of the day.'¹¹⁹ Indeed some argued that whilst the accounts in the Alpine Club's series might 'pale from sameness', the variety within *Vacation Tourists* helped to distinguish the series from existing offerings.¹²⁰ Certainly a number of reviewers complained that accounts of Alpine travel were now too numerous to be interesting.

Reviewers routinely debated whether the essay format would produce more trustworthy accounts. Although *St James Magazine* cautioned that readers must make 'all due allowance for travellers' tales, and the natural disposition to exaggerate whatever is strange and wonderful' when approaching any work in the field,¹²¹ others shared Macmillan and Galton's belief that composite format would limit unnecessary embellishment and puffing. The *London Quarterly Review* for example, suggested that 'there is as much real information as is to be found in any ordinary volume of travels',¹²² while the *Examiner's* reviewer singled out G. W. Clark's essay on Naples and Garibaldi as evidence that the format encouraged precision: 'Had [Clark] chosen to fill three or four hundred pages instead of seventy-five, he must have made plentiful use of 'our landlady, a vivacious, black-eyed Calbrese damsel,' and such like traveller's stuffing. The bits of egotism and idle gossip, which are here quite rare, would have accumulated to the great disparagement of the really useful matter'.¹²³

Macmillan had expressed concern that the value of the series might have been undermined if readers suspected that the essays within the series were specially commissioned. Certainly, the origins of the papers and the involvement of the publisher and editor in their preparation was something which attracted attention. The *Daily News* suggested that the contents of the second series 'appear[ed] to have

¹¹⁹ 'Brief Literary Notices', *London Quarterly Review*, 23 (1865), 246.

¹²⁰ 'Literary Review', *John Bull*, May 31, 1862, 347.

¹²¹ 'By Land and Sea. The Travellers', *St James's Magazine*, I (1861) 484.

¹²² 'Brief Literary Notices', *London Quarterly Review*, 23 (1865), 246.

¹²³ 'The Literary Examiner', *Examiner*, March 23, 1861, 181.

been written with a more distinct view to publication', for example, but this was seen as a positive development.¹²⁴ Indeed the *Critic's* reviewer revealed 'We cannot help regretting that Mr [J.W.] Clark has not chosen to work his diary into a more readable form' suggesting that some additional 'literary assistance' would have made the material more accessible. However, the *Athenaeum's* reviewer made a connection between the seemingly chaotic styles of some papers and their apparent authenticity. As was noted of Lady Duff-Gordon's letters, for instance, 'Mrs Austin prefaces these letters with an assurance that they were not written to be published. The fact is self-evident. There is not the slightest trick of authorship in them. They contain some capital nonsense, not a few ramblings and digressions, and just the amount of reference to home which attest to their validity'.¹²⁵ By contrast, the same reviewer suspected that W.G. Clark's paper bore signs of invention, noting 'If not himself 'a tremendous converser,' he is a rare reporter of conversations. At pages 7, 8, 9, we find a recollection of explanations offered in discourse, as coherent orderly and consecutive as if they had formed the peroration of a written speech'.¹²⁶ Whilst the reviewer stopped short of explicitly questioning the credibility of the contents of these conversations, the reviewer certainly suggested that they had at least been 'written-up' to make them publishable. However, *The Times* was thoroughly convinced of the trustworthiness of the same author's paper on Poland. The reviewer felt that Clark should not be called upon to state where his information had been derived from on account of his being 'a thoughtful, calmly-judging Englishman,' who 'puts down what he did see, and he accounts for much which he did not see, with a superior share of the light of nature and more than an average candour of spirit' all of which somehow was deemed to guarantee that 'he may be thoroughly relied upon'.¹²⁷ Clark's character it seems was evidence enough to prove that his narrative was true to nature.

Despite there being some suspicion that a few essays might have been 'worked up' for publication, reviewers were overwhelmingly convinced that the series offered novel content (if not necessary a novel approach). Indeed the reviewer for the *Daily News* was happy to express their surprise at finding 'how new, how

¹²⁴ 'Literature', *Daily News* June 28, 1862, 4.

¹²⁵ 'Vacation Tourists and Notes of Travel, in 1862-3', *Athenaeum*, 1917 (1864) 104-105.

¹²⁶ 'Vacation Tourists and Notes of Travel in 1860' *Athenaeum* 1743 (1863), 391.

¹²⁷ 'Vacation Tourists - 1862-3', *Mornings of the Recess. 1861-64. A Series of Biographical and Literary Papers Reprinted, by Permission, from The Times* (London: Tinsley Brothers, 1864), 247.

fresh, and how instructive are the observations of the Rev. Messrs. Tristram and Tyrwhitt on this apparently worn out topic'¹²⁸ while the *North American Review* praised J.W. Clark and Tozer for their treatment of 'relatively unhackneyed subjects'.¹²⁹ Similarly the reviewer for the *Critic* applauded Spottiswoode for venturing into an area which was 'but seldom visited by the English traveller'.¹³⁰ The *Era's* critic, however, felt that even greater information could be gleaned from the second *Vacation Tourists*, which was 'even better than the previous volume' on account of the inclusion of the maps but also because 'the routes, also, are generally out of the beaten track'.¹³¹ In its praise of H.B. Tristram's essay, the notice in the *London Quarterly Review* echoed this sentiment, highlighting that his paper 'though devoted to a subject which is worn threadbare' still managed to make a valuable contribution on account of his ability to 'introduc[e] many items of interest not noticed by other travellers'.¹³² As the *Era* made clear Galton's 'vacation tourists' were of a particular breed – 'adventurous and intelligent' – and 'not mere grumbling tourists', once more reinforcing the notion of a hierarchy of different travellers.¹³³

Although the nature of the series encouraged reviewers to concentrate on one or two articles in detail or to talk in more general terms about the nature of travel books, most reviews concluded by offering their assessment of the likely success of the series in the longer term. Reviewers overwhelmingly felt that *Vacation Tourists* was worthy of recommendation to their own readers and repeatedly asserted their faith that Macmillan and Galton had initiated a successful series which would continue to prosper.¹³⁴ As the *Critic* put it, 'If the *Vacation Tourists* of 1860 receive that welcome from the public which they undoubtedly deserve, a similar volume will follow each year'.¹³⁵ Indeed the *Examiner* believed that 'It is to everybody's interest that this should be,' and was confident that the series would continue so long as Galton could 'secure the services of as many able contributors as have aided him in the present instance'.¹³⁶ The *Aberdeen Journal* even suggested that *Vacation*

¹²⁸ 'Literature', *Daily News*, November 2, 1864, 2.

¹²⁹ 'Vacation Tourists and Notes of Travel in 1860', *North American Review*, 93 (1861), 271.

¹³⁰ 'Miscellaneous', *Critic* 22 (559) (1861), 378.

¹³¹ 'Literature' *Era*, May 25, 1862, 6.

¹³² 'Brief Literary Notices' *London Quarterly Review* 23 (1865), 246.

¹³³ 'Literature', *Era*, May 25, 1862, 6.

¹³⁴ *The Times*, April 4, 1861, 12; 'Literature' *Daily News*, June 28, 1862, 4; 'Literature', *Aberdeen Journal*, March 6, 1861, 6.

¹³⁵ 'Miscellaneous', *Critic*, 22 (1861), 377.

¹³⁶ 'The Literary Examiner', *Examiner*, March 23, 1861, 182.

Tourists would inspire other publishers to experiment with the same format and noted that the current volume 'might serve as a suggestion for a new Quarterly – The Traveller'.¹³⁷ However, the *North American Review*'s reviewer correctly predicted that sales would decline with the publication of the second volume in the series, noting that the 'second published under that title, is far inferior in interest and ability to the one noticed by us last year,' and also cautioned that 'unless Mr Galton is more fortunate hereafter in his selection of authors and subjects, he will scarcely be gratified in his hope of seeing a long series of annual volumes'.¹³⁸ Although the reviewer was perhaps unsurprised to find that the third volume was delayed on account of poor sales and a lack of appropriate material, others were happy to forgive the delay of the next in the line of *Vacation Tourists*. As the *London Quarterly Review* explained to its readers 'though Mr Galton, the talented editor, somewhat disappointed the public by making no sign in '63, few will be disposed to question the wisdom of a delay which has resulted in the production of so fascinating and instructive a volume as is now before us'.¹³⁹ The *British Quarterly Review* agreed calling *Vacation Tourists and Notes of Travel in 1862-3* 'an instructive and charming collection'.¹⁴⁰ Indeed, the consensus was that 'So long as Mr Galton can command the talent which has enriched the issues of the past he may calculate with certainty on the growing popularity of the series'.¹⁴¹ That so many reviewers were convinced that the series would return for a fourth volume perhaps goes to underline that the critical response was not always a good measure of the book-buying habits of the larger public.

Reading and Advertising Reviews

It is clear that both Macmillan and Galton paid attention to what the critics had to say and believed that they carried sway with the book-buying public.¹⁴² As Macmillan assured his editor, '*The Times* always goes on working for a fortnight or three weeks

¹³⁷ 'Literature', *Aberdeen Journal*, March 6, 1861, 6.

¹³⁸ 'Recent Books of Travel', *North American Review*, 95 (1862), 559.

¹³⁹ 'Brief Literary Notices', *London Quarterly Review*, 23 (1865), 246.

¹⁴⁰ 'Epilogue on Books', *The British Quarterly Review*, 40 (1864), 512.

¹⁴¹ 'Brief Literary Notices', *London Quarterly Review*, 23 (1865), 248.

¹⁴² A. Macmillan to F. Galton, March 23, 1861, Macmillan Archive Add. MS55839, 429, British Library; A. Macmillan to F. Galton, April 6, 1861, Macmillan Archive Add. MS55839, 481, British Library.

after the article appears'.¹⁴³ In this light, it is not surprising then to find that Macmillan was not afraid to recycle favourable reviews, pasting short sections into advertisements once the initial wave of interest had likely passed. Commentary from the *Saturday Review* of March 23, 1861, for instance, found its way into an advert placed in the May 11 edition of *Notes and Queries*. Below details of title and editor, Macmillan inserted the following text: 'The first essential for a book of travels is to be readable, and none of the contributors seem to have lost sight of the obligation. The plan is itself, apart from the excellence of execution, was a good one'. Similarly, Macmillan utilised the power of the critics, to promote *Notes of Travel in 1862-3*, quoting the *Athenaeum*'s verdict that 'A volume of travels richer in interest has rarely been published' in the text of his advert.¹⁴⁴ The suggestion that these insertions were designed to boost flagging sales is bolstered by the contents of Macmillan's correspondence. If we take the latter example, for instance, around the same time, we find Macmillan openly pushing the publication among acquaintances and encouraging his authors and their associates to do the same. To Tyrwhitt, he wrote, 'I hope you all persuade all your friends to buy it' and appealed once again to the favourable verdict offered by the *Athenaeum*'s reviewer, 'The Athenaeum says it is a wonderfully good volume – "and say all of us"'.¹⁴⁵ Meanwhile, Macmillan had also appealed to Alexander Duff-Gordon, to 'tell all [his] friends how well they [would] be repaid by buying it'.¹⁴⁶ That such pleas were being made into late July perhaps reveals that sales of the third, and what would be final volume, had not yet met the publisher's expectations.

Galton also utilised the sway of the reviewing press in his attempts to swell interest in the work. He summed up the cacophony of praise heaped upon the collection of essays in the preface to the second volume, noting that, 'The principles upon which this "*Vacation Tourists*" was designed, and, I may add, the character of the articles it contained, drew forth an almost unanimous verdict of approval, while the good opinion of the critics was practically endorsed by the book-buying

¹⁴³ A. Macmillan to F. Galton, April 6, 1861, Macmillan Archive Add. MS55839, 481, British Library.

¹⁴⁴ 'Classified Advertising', *The Examiner*, August 6, 1864, 512.

¹⁴⁵ A. Macmillan to R. Tyrwhitt, July 26, 1864, Macmillan Archive, Add. MS5383(1), 213, British Library.

¹⁴⁶ A. Macmillan to A. Duff-Gordon, July 22, 1864, Macmillan Archive Add. MS55383(1), 198, British Library.

public'.¹⁴⁷ However, the influence of the reviewing press could be double-edged. After the publication of the first volume, Macmillan noted to Galton that although sales had been promising there had been no 'second demand' as yet. Whilst Macmillan said he retained some hope that there might be a second wave of interest from booksellers interested in taking volumes from the firm, he also revealed to Galton that 'were it not for the din of that "Essay of Review" now, I would perhaps be more hopeful', perhaps suggesting that Macmillan knew some would not go on to buy a copy of the work having seen its contents summarised in one of the extended review articles that began to appear soon after publication.¹⁴⁸ Such examples provide further insights into the ways that periodical reviews were implicated in the promotion of new works, highlighting in particular how influential they were understood to be by those producing the works under review.

* * *

This chapter presents a case for exploring the relationship between serial publication and the production, circulation and reception of geographical knowledge, using *Vacation Tourists and Notes of Travel* as a case study. In the course of this chapter, I have shown that the publication process associated with serial ventures had much in common with that of book publishing: similar strategies were invoked to ensure that published accounts were both readable and credible as unworked accounts of travel ensuring that publication in both instances required collaboration and compromise, for example. However, this chapter has also explored issues which arose because of the composite nature of the series. As each volume consisted of numerous essays, the pressures of preparing a publishable product were amplified. Moreover, as the project could only proceed at the pace of the slowest author, contributors could hold significant bargaining power. The variety in each volume was seen as a selling point yet it meant that Macmillan and Galton had to call on outside assistance on occasions where the views of the author and editor could not be reconciled. This practice was hardly unique to serial publication but could add further complications to the already fraught production process.

¹⁴⁷ F. Galton, 'Preface', *Vacation Tourists and Notes of Travel in 1861*, v.

¹⁴⁸ A. Macmillan to F. Galton, March 23, 1861, Macmillan Archive Add. MS55389, 429, British Library.

As in previous chapters, I have attempted to move beyond the publishing house, considering existing precedents for the venture that Macmillan and Galton formulated. I have shown too that the exact nature of the series evolved from Macmillan's assessment of the market but also of the personal networks of which he and Galton were a part. Moving beyond the conditions in which the volumes were produced I have again underlined the significance of a range of print spaces in circulating knowledge within works of travel, including advertising and library provision. I have also shown that while *Vacation Travels* was widely reviewed, the nature of each volume presented something of a challenge, resisting easy synthesis. Finally, I noted that critics deployed different strategies to deal with the series which influenced how closely they examined individual contributions suggesting once more that there is value in exploring a wide range of reviews. This does not exhaust what is a relatively unexplored topic in the history of publishing. There are, for example, further avenues to explore in relation to both this periodical in particular (its relationship to contributors' longer publishing trajectories or Macmillan's subsequent attitude to travel series, for instance) and serial publication in general.

Figures

VACATION TOURISTS

AND

NOTES OF TRAVEL

IN 1860

EDITED BY

FRANCIS GALTON, M.A. F.R.S.

AUTHOR OF "THE ART OF TRAVEL," ETC.

Cambridge:

MACMILLAN AND CO
AND 21, BENNETT STREET, COVENT GARDEN

London

1861

[The right of Translation reserved.]

CONTENTS.

| | |
|--|-----|
| I.—NAPLES AND GARIBOLDI | 1 |
| By W. G. CLARK, M.A. F.R.G.S. Tutor of Trinity College, and Public Lecturer of the University of Cambridge. | |
| II.—A TOUR IN CIVIL AND MILITARY CROATIA, AND THROUGH PART OF HUNGARY | 16 |
| By GEORGE ANDREW BENTLEYWOOD. | |
| III.—SLAVONIC RACER | 100 |
| By R. D. a Former Resident and Recent Traveller among them. | |
| IV.—A GOSSIP ON A SUTHERLAND HILL-SIDE | 116 |
| By G. H. K. | |
| V.—A VISIT TO PERTI | 176 |
| By C. C. HOWES. | |
| VI.—GRALAN ALPS AND MOUNT ISERAN | 229 |
| By J. J. COWELL, F.R.G.S. | |
| VII.—THE ALLKJEM-HORN | 264 |
| By THE REV. ISABEL BOWEN, M.A. Fellow and Tutor of Trinity Hall, Cambridge. | |
| VIII.—PARTIAL ASCENT OF MONT CERVIN (MATTERHORN) 271 | |
| By F. V. HAWKINS, M.A. | |

viii

CONTENTS.

| | |
|---|-----|
| IX.—FROM LAUTERBRUNNEN TO THE JOGISHHORN BY THE LAUWIKEN-THOR IN ONE DAY | 266 |
| By JOHN TYNDALL, F.R.S. | |
| X.—JOURNAL OF A YACHT VOYAGE TO THE FAROE ISLANDS AND ICKLAND | 318 |
| By J. W. CLARK, M.A. Fellow of Trinity College, Cambridge. | |
| XI.—NORWAY | 362 |
| By H. F. TUCKER, M.A. Fellow and Tutor of Keble College, Oxford. | |
| XII.—A VISIT TO NORTH SPAIN AT THE TIME OF THE ECLIPSE | 421 |
| By the Editor. | |
| XIII.—SYRIAN TRAVEL AND SYRIAN TRIBES | 456 |
| By the Hon. ROBERT NORTON, M.A. | |

VACATION TOURISTS

AND

NOTES OF TRAVEL

IN 1861

EDITED BY

FRANCIS GALTON,

AUTHOR OF "THE ART OF TRAVEL," ETC.

WITH TEN MAPS TO ILLUSTRATE THE ROUTES

Cambridge

MACMILLAN AND CO.

AND 21, HENRIETTA STREET, COVENT GARDEN

Yachin

1862

CONTENTS.

| | PAGE |
|---|------|
| I.—ST. PETERSBURG AND MOSCOW | 1 |
| By THE REV. ARCHIBALD WELLS, D.C.L. M.A. | |
| II.—THE COUNTRY OF SCHAMYL | 81 |
| By WILLIAM MARSHALL, Esq. F.R.G.S. | |
| III.—THE MONKS OF MOUNT ATHOS | 87 |
| By H. F. TUCKER, M.A. | |
| IV.—THE AMAZON, AND RIO MADEIRA | 121 |
| By THE REV. CHARLES YOUNG. | |
| V.—NINE WEEKS IN CANADA | 167 |
| By CAPT. RICHARD COLLIERSON, R.N. C.B. | |
| VI.—A NATURALIST'S IMPRESSIONS OF SPAIN | 189 |
| By PHILIP LUTLEY SCLATER, M.A. Ph.D. F.R.S. | |
| VII.—GEOLOGICAL NOTES ON AUVERGNE | 211 |
| By ARCHIBALD GIBBS, F.R.S.E. F.G.S. | |
| VIII.—FIJI AND ITS INHABITANTS | 249 |
| By BERTHOLD SEEMANN, Ph.D. F.L.S. | |

viii

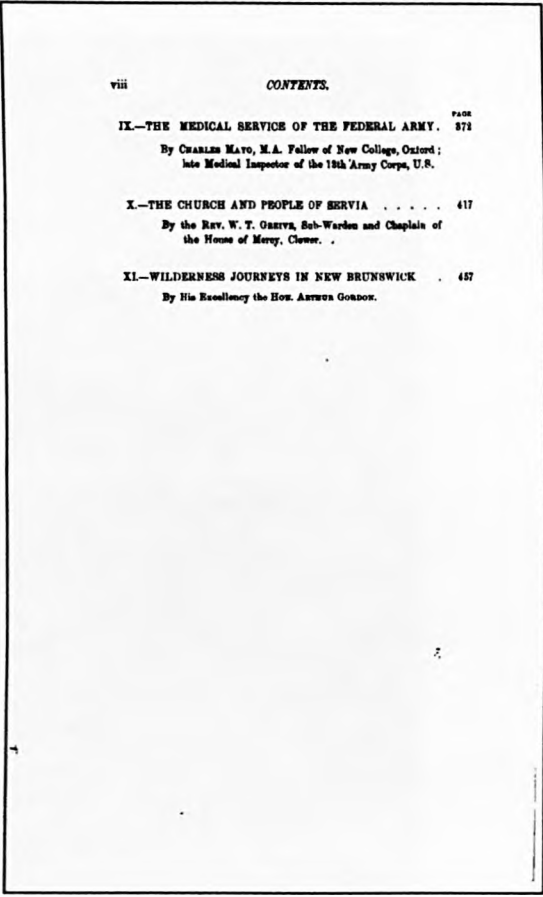
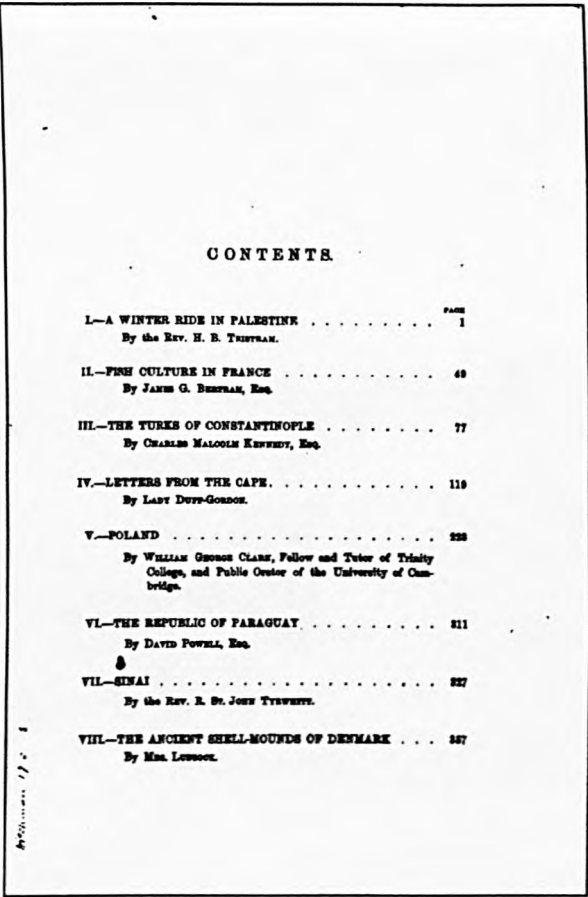
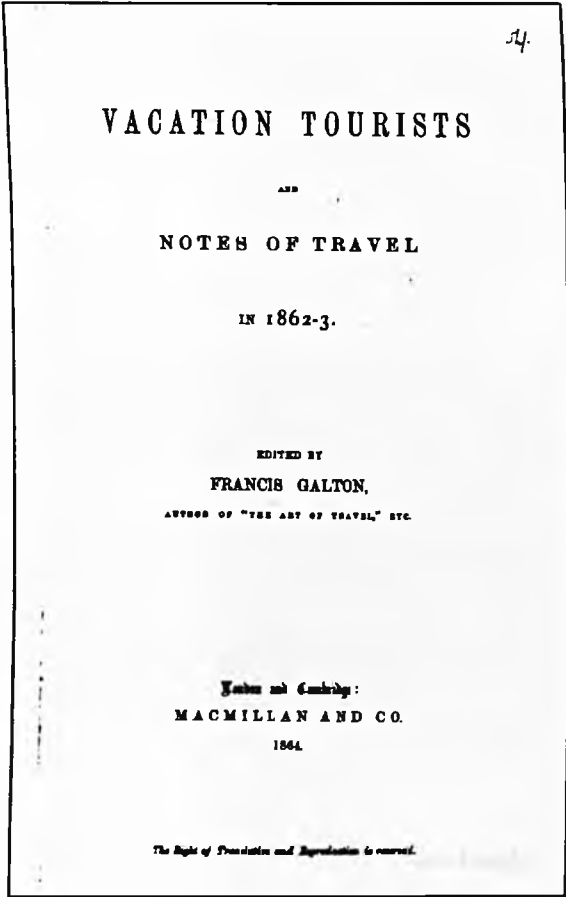
CONTENTS.

| | PAGE |
|---|------|
| IX.—THE KRU COAST, CAPE PALMAS, AND THE NIGER | 299 |
| By WILLIAM DUBRANT, M.D. | |
| X.—NABLOON AND THE SAMARITANS | 327 |
| By GEORGE GROVE, Esq. | |
| XI.—CHRISTMAS IN MONTENEGRO | 357 |
| By I. M. | |

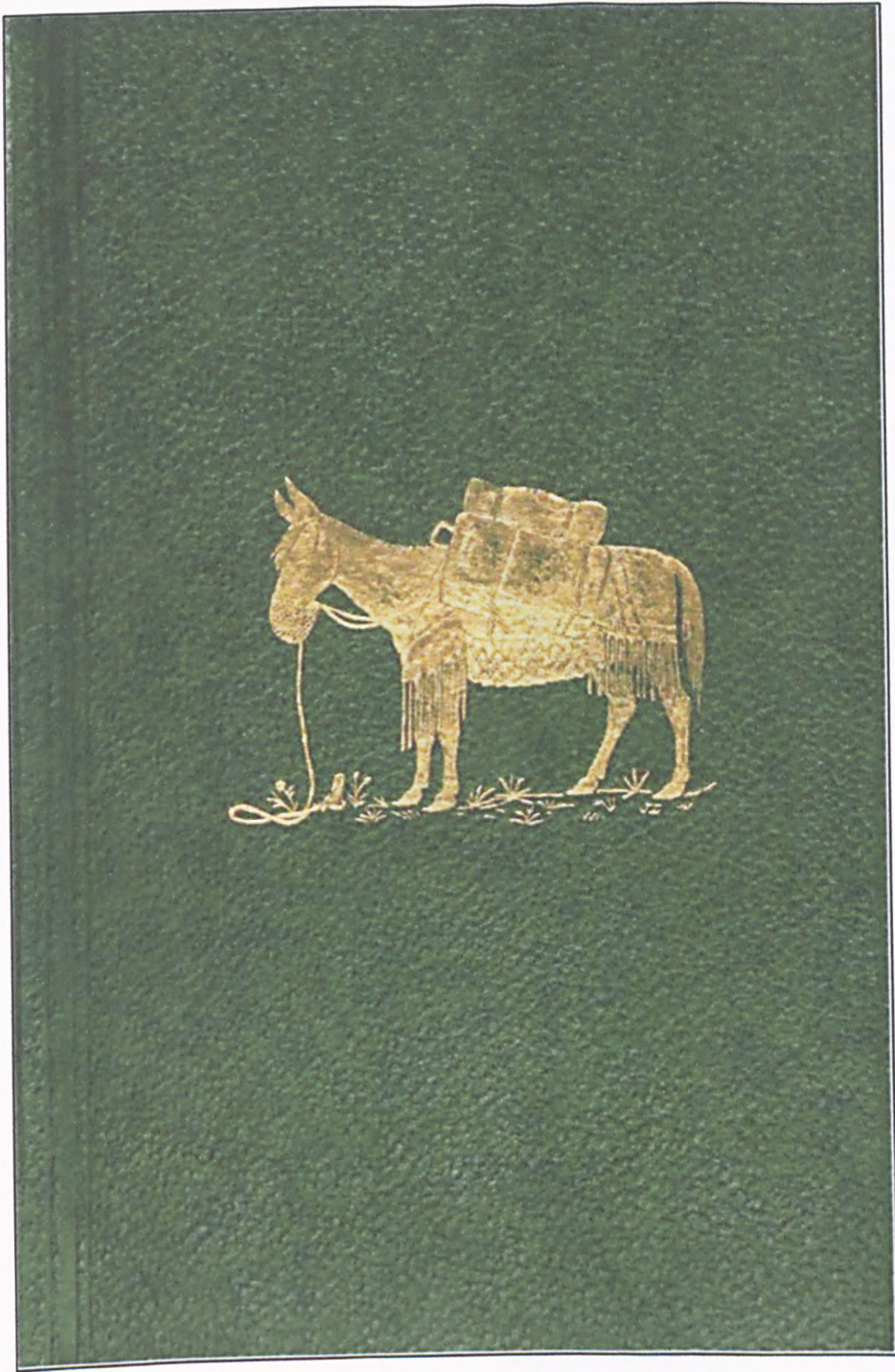
LIST OF MAPS.

| | To face page |
|--|--------------|
| 1. ST. PETERSBURG AND MOSCOW | 1 |
| 2. THE COUNTRY OF SCHAMYL | 81 |
| 3. MOUNT ATHOS | 87 |
| 4. THE AMAZON, AND RIO MADEIRA | 121 |
| 5. CANADA | 167 |
| 6. SPAIN | 189 |
| 7. AUVERGNE | 211 |
| 8. FIJI ISLANDS | 249 |
| 9. THE DELTA OF THE NIGER (GULF OF GUINEA) | 299 |
| 10. MONTENEGRO | 357 |

5.2 Vacation Tourists and Notes of Travel in 1861 (Cambridge, Macmillan and Co., 1862)



5.3 Vacation Tourists and Notes of Travel in 1862-3 (Cambridge, Macmillan and Co., 1864)



5.4 *Vacation Tourists and Notes of Travel*: Series Binding

PEAKS, PASSES, AND GLACIERS.

A Series of

EXCURSIONS BY MEMBERS OF THE ALPINE CLUB.

EDITED BY JOHN BALL, M.R.I.A. F.L.S.

PRESIDENT OF THE ALPINE CLUB.



Per Nives sempiternas Rupesque tremenda.

SECOND EDITION.

LONDON

LONGMAN, GREEN, LONGMAN, AND ROBERTS.

1859

Digitized by Google

*5.5 Peaks, Passes and Glaciers: A Series of Excursions
by Members of the Alpine Club (1859-1862)*

Chapter 6

‘Popularising’ Travel: From *Our Ocean Highways* to the *Geographical Magazine* in the 1870s

This chapter moves our examination of mid-Victorian travel publishing further along the book-periodical spectrum. Having considered the production, circulation and reception of exploration narratives, instructions for travellers and book series, attention now turns to magazine publishing. This chapter considers the significance of the periodical format at a time when periodical publishing was expanding rapidly in response to advancements in the technologies of production and distribution and the growing market for inexpensive literature among the literate classes. While geographers regularly use periodical literature as a means of accessing nineteenth-century geographical debates, studies of periodicals as objects in their own right remain relatively rare. Literary studies of Victorian periodicals have examined the significance of the format and rhythm of this particular mode of publishing and provided insights into why periodical projects were increasingly attractive to publishers, authors and readers.¹ Historians of science meanwhile have explored the development of scientific periodicals aimed primarily at lay audiences and the importance of general literary periodicals as arenas for scientific debate (Chapter 1). Yet, we still have relatively little understanding of how various forms of geographical knowledge were constructed, circulated and contested in the periodical press. Although the Royal Geographical Society's own periodical outputs have been the focus of some study, we do not yet have a detailed picture of how they were produced, distributed or consumed within and beyond the Society (Chapter 2).² This is significant not least because the argument has already been made that leading Fellows at the RGS were deeply ambivalent about attempts to popularise geography in print.³ The extent to which this ambivalence shaped the form and content of their periodical publications specifically remains open to question. However, we know less still about commercially-driven geographical periodicals in this period. Who were the publishers, authors and readers of so-called 'popular' geographical periodicals? How did commercial attempts to popularise geography sit alongside

¹ For an overview of recent work in this field see K. Boardman, "Charting the golden stream": Recent work on Victorian periodicals', *Victorian Studies*, 48 (2006), 504-517 and S. Latham and R. Scholes, 'The rise of periodical studies', *PMLA* 121 (2006), 517-31.

² On the Society's periodical outputs see H.R. Mill, *The Record of the Royal Geographical Society 1830-1930* (London: The Royal Geographical Society, 1930), 241-244; D. Middleton, 'Guide to the Publications of the Royal Geographical Society 1830-1892', *Geographical Journal* 144 (1978), 101-107.

³ F. Driver, *Geography Militant: Cultures of Exploration and Empire* (Oxford: Blackwell Publishers Ltd, 2000); Chapter 4, this volume.

institutional ones? How was ‘popular geography’ defined in specific contexts? This Chapter addresses these issues directly with a view to shedding further light on the complex nature of geographical publishing at this time, considering in particular the specific opportunities and challenges that ‘popular’ periodical publishing could present publishers, authors and readers in the context of travel and exploration.

This Chapter examines a periodical project which explicitly aimed to expand geography’s appeal among the wider reading public in the period 1870-1878. The project began with a monthly supplement to the annual *Our Ocean Highways: A Condensed Universal Hand Gazetteer and Universal Route Book*. The aims, form and content of the supplement changed over time (along with its title) before it was finally disbanded in 1878 when the *Geographical Magazine*, as it had become, was sacrificed to make way for a new series of the RGS’s *Proceedings*. This Chapter examines how this particular periodical project was shaped by a number of proprietors, publishers, editors and authors as they sought to ‘popularise’ geography in different ways (Section 6.1). It also explores the specific challenges and opportunities associated with periodical publishing considering, for example, how the format and monthly rhythm of publication ensured that each issue was both open-ended, looking back to previous issues and forward to subsequent ones while also functioning as a stand-alone entity. It further demonstrates that periodicals were connected to wider publishing networks, being reviewed and advertised in a range of print spaces whilst also acting as sites of synthesis themselves, bringing together materials from a range of published (and unpublished) sources and repackaging it (Section 6.2). Finally, the Chapter concludes by exploring how the RGS responded to this venture, highlighting that the Society as a whole was deeply ambivalent about ‘popularising’ geography through the periodical press (Section 6.3).

6.1 From *Our Ocean Highways* to the *Geographical Magazine*

Our story begins in 1870 with the gazetteer *Ocean Highways: A Condensed Universal Hand Gazetteer and International Route Book, By Ocean, Road or Rail*. First published in 1870 by Edward Stanford, this work aimed to provide valuable information for merchants but also presented itself to the ‘general public’ as a ‘condensed handbook for travel at home and abroad’ containing ‘geographical,

maritime, consular, and parliamentary information'.⁴ J.M. Dempsey, manager of the Buckingham Palace Hotel, assumed the role of editor for the first volume in the series before being joined by William Hughes, a well-known promoter of geographical education (see below) to complete a second volume for 1871 (Figure 6.1).

Ocean Highways: A Monthly Supplement to the Annual Volume

This venture quickly inspired a one-penny four-page monthly supplement which appeared under the title, *Our Ocean Highways: A Monthly Supplement to the Annual Volume*, from April 1870 (Figure 6.2). In November of the same year the supplement doubled in length, although the price remained unchanged.⁵ A complete run of the *Monthly Supplement* does not survive, nor has it been possible to locate archival material offering further insights into the early life of this venture. As a consequence I have relied upon the limited number of issues which do survive and Clements Markham's final editorial for the *Geographical Magazine* in 1878 in order to reconstruct the publishing history for this early period.⁶ Although it would be fair to assume that Edward Stanford had a role in publishing the early numbers of the supplement, there is no direct evidence to confirm this. The remaining issues confirm, however, that T. Pettit and Co. of Soho Square, West London were appointed printers and principal agents of the work by the end of 1870, and advertising material would suggest that they also published the *Monthly Supplement* for a short time.⁷ The content of the publication reflected the concerns of the parent publication and of course, those of editor (and owner) Dempsey. In addition to several pages advertising hotels, steam ship companies and a range of other products and services that might appeal to the traveller at home or abroad, the supplement also contained a 'log book' of geographical news and a serialised 'Home Tour' presenting a tour of Britain in easily digestible (and perhaps replicable) chunks. A similar 'Foreign Tour' provided material for those of a more adventurous bent. 'Our

⁴ J.M. Dempsey and W. Hughes (eds.) *Our Ocean Highways: A Condensed Universal Hand Gazetteer and International Route Book, By Ocean, Road or Rail* (London: Edward Stanford, 1871).

⁵ C.R. Markham, 'A farewell to our readers' *The Geographical Magazine*, 5 (1878), 301.

⁶ Markham, 'A farewell to our readers', 301-302.

⁷ 'Our Ocean Highways Monthly Supplement [Periodical Prospectus c.1872]' John Johnson Collection: An Archive of Printed Ephemera, Prospectuses of Journals 40 (41).

Liverpool Gossip' meanwhile contained regional news from the port city often particularly relevant to those in the shipping industry. This feature was accompanied by a table of 'Our Liverpool Ocean Steam Lines' which gave dates and rates of passage for that month's ocean crossings. 'Our Literary Sea Chest' provided short notices and abstracts of recent works in the field of history, geography and biography. Illustration and maps, however, were notably absent. Advertisements within the supplement itself suggested that this content was well received as by December 1870 it was claiming to have attracted 20,000 subscribers.⁸

Our Ocean Highways: Geographical Record and Travellers' Register. A Monthly Supplement to the Annual Volume

In July 1871, the periodical expanded to 16 pages and for the next twelve months it appeared under the title *Our Ocean Highways: Monthly Supplement to the Annual Volume Geographical Record & Travellers' Register*, selling for three pence per issue (Figures 6.3 and 6.4).⁹ It is unclear what prompted this expansion but it is perhaps no coincidence that map-publisher George Philip and Son took over as publishers from Pettit and Co. in this period.¹⁰ Established in Liverpool in 1834, George Philip and Son initially operated primarily as map and atlas publishers. With the acquisition of premises in London's Fleet Street the business expanded rapidly with the firm becoming one of the principal suppliers of geographical works for schools. From 1865 and 1869 onwards, the firm supplied Australian and New Zealand schools respectively with atlases whilst after the Education Act of 1870, Philips were a principal supplier of textbooks, copybooks, wall maps and school atlases as well as school stationary to the newly-established national schools in England.¹¹ Thus George Philip and Son not only already had prior knowledge of the

⁸ 'Our Ocean Highways', *Our Ocean Highways: A Monthly Supplement to the Annual Volume*, 9 (1870), 14.

⁹ C.R. Markham, 'A farewell to our readers', 301. The July 1871 issue does not survive but Markham provides an account of the transitions during the course of the project. Figure 6.3 shows an advertisement for the August 1871 issue which does not survive and Figure 6.4 shows a later issue (March 1872) with the new title.

¹⁰ It is unclear exactly when Philips began publishing the *Geographical Record & Travellers Register* as the advertisement for the August 1871 issue (shown in Figure 6.3) cites Pettit and Co. as publishers while the February 1872 issue (the next surviving issue) contains a notice stating that subscriptions should be addressed to George Philip & Son. The publisher's name does not appear on the cover until the periodical is renamed *Ocean Highways: The Geographical Record*, however.

¹¹ G. Philip and E. G. Godfrey, 'History of George Philip & Son Ltd, 1834-1934' in B. M. Willett (ed.) *Philips' Universal Atlas, 150th Anniversary Edition* (London: G. Philip, Ltd, 1984), 8; G. Philip,

market in popular geographical works but were also skilled publishers and printers of cartographic materials having made an early investment in power-driven lithographic presses and also enjoying strong associations with well known cartographers such as John Bartholomew, Augustus Petermann and William Hughes.

Whether George Philip's involvement with the series was the catalyst for expansion or not, the extra space permitted more room for advertising but also brought a significant increase in the range and arguably quality of material included. By this time William Hughes had joined Dempsey in editing the annual gazetteer which had given rise to the supplement and he became a regular contributor to the periodical too.¹² As Baigent notes, Hughes was 'an engraver, printer, and map seller, but it is as a pioneer of geographical education that he is best remembered'. Hughes believed that geography ought to be taught not through rote learning but as a scientific subject concerned with the 'nature and distribution of phenomena'. He was responsible for numerous geographical works including several textbooks which were widely used in the teaching of geography at both state and public schools.¹³ Clements Markham explained in 1878 that William Hughes had supplied a 'good geographical article for each number' of the supplement.¹⁴ Although none of the articles in the magazine were explicitly attributed to Hughes, the supplement contained a series of papers titled 'Down among the Dutchmen' between January and May 1872 signed 'W.H.'. Whether these were the articles Markham was referring to is unclear, however I would suggest these were more likely to be the work of Walter Hamilton who contributed to a number of similar series in subsequent versions of the periodical. The maps which began to appear in the supplement after it expanded in July 1871 hint that Hughes was instead the author of a number of articles signed 'F.R.G.S.'. The maps themselves were definitely the work of Hughes. That appearing in the March 1872 issue for example gave a 'Sketch of Recent Discoveries in Central Africa with the Route to be followed by the Livingstone Relief Expedition' and contained a note indicating that it had been 'drawn expressly for "Our Ocean Highways," geographical record and travellers'

The Story of the Last Hundred Years: A Geographical Record London: (G. Philip and Son, Ltd, 1934), 48-50.

¹² C.R. Markham, 'A farewell to our readers', 301.

¹³ E. Baigent, 'Hughes, William (1818-1876)', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, Online Edition (Oxford University Press, 2004) [<http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/41217>].

¹⁴ C.R. Markham, 'A farewell to our readers', 301.

register by W. Hughes FRGS'. Similarly, the May 1872 issue contained a 'Sketch of Baffin Bay and the Gateway to the North Pole' again 'drawn for "Our Ocean Highways" by W. Hughes F.R.G.S' (Figure 6.5). Both of these examples were designed to accompany an article providing readers with news of the latest geographical discoveries and the progress of ongoing expeditions. Each issue began with such a paper, signed invariably F.R.G.S.. That printed in the March 1872 issue (which did not contain a map) discussed 'The East: Manchuria and Beloochistan' but also used the article to tackle the issue of popularising geography in a more direct fashion. Reflecting on a meeting of the Royal Geographical Society, for instance, the author noted that 'The Papers above referred to, replete as they undoubtedly are with matter of interest to the geographer, lacked of necessity the elements of popular interest that attach to discovery'. The article went on to criticise the fact that 'while the meetings of the Royal Geographical Society are so obviously and deservedly popular, attempts to extend culture of high-class geography through other channels meet with so little encouragement'.¹⁵ Thus for this author at least, *Our Ocean Highways* not only offered an opportunity to address a more popular audience and to broaden the appeal and receipt of geographical knowledge but also a chance to challenge those who continued to resist such attempts towards popularisation.

Our Ocean Highways: The Geographical Record

The character of the *Geographical Record & Traveller's Register* changed significantly in 1872 (Figure 6.6). The annual gazetteer which had inspired it was abandoned after the second volume although the monthly periodical it inspired would survive. From July of that year the periodical was published as *Ocean Highways: The Geographical Record*. Dempsey continued as proprietor and George Philip and Son as publishers. Clements Markham, Honorary Secretary of the RGS, joined the venture in the role of editor. As well as being an influential figure within the RGS, he had much practical experience of travel and exploration too having served in the *Assistance's* search for Franklin in 1850-51 before travelling in Peru in 1852-53. A subsequent post in the India Office would see Markham charged with conveying Chinchona seeds from Peru to India and Ceylon in an attempt to establish

¹⁵ F.R.G.S. 'The East, Manchuria and Beloochistan', *Our Ocean Highways: Monthly Supplement to the Annual Volume Geographical Record & Travellers Register*, II (1) (1872), 2.

India Rubber plantations on the sub-continent. Following his return from the Abyssinian expedition, Markham succeeded in having the Geographical Department of the India Office re-established.¹⁶ He thus came to the *Geographical Record* with experience of travel and authorship but also access to an extensive network of influential travellers through the various offices he held.

The partnership between Philips and Markham marked a new chapter in the project. The periodical continued to be published on a monthly basis but grew in length, scope and price ('consisting of 36 pages in 3 columns, folio (10 being advertisements), price 6d').¹⁷ Despite the rising cost, however, the publication still aimed to be 'popular' in its appeal. Whilst the header on the title page of *Our Ocean Highways Geographical Record and Travellers Register* had emphasised the international focus of the publication as well its coverage of both territorial and oceanic enterprise from the outset, the title sheets of *The Geographical Record* also played upon the romance and adventure of 'discovery' (Figures 6.4 and 6.5). Although the periodical was perhaps in danger in becoming too expensive for many of its intended readers, the increasing cost of the publication no doubt reflected increases in production costs. Each issue was divided into two parts with the first dedicated to more topical features, articles, reviews, news, proceedings and so on whilst the second part contained running features such as 'Our Home Tour' and series carrying titles such as 'The Threshold of the Unknown', 'National Anthems' and 'Some Weeks in the River Congo' (see below). It is noteworthy that whilst the content expanded over time, most of the features that had first appeared in the monthly supplement had been retained, suggesting that the publishers, editor and proprietor were confident that readers would continue to respond well to them. There were areas, however, which Markham and Philips sought to improve. Maps in particular became much more central to the expanded periodical, unsurprising given Philip's and Hughes' expertise in this area. Every issue had at least one map but some had several more.

¹⁶ D. Williams, 'Clements Robert Markham and the Geographical Department of the India Office, 1867-77' *Geographical Journal* 134 (1968), 343-352.

¹⁷ Markham, 'A farewell to our readers', 301.

Ocean Highways: The Geographical Review

The project would enter another new phase in April 1873 when *Ocean Highways: The Geographical Review* replaced the *Geographical Record* (Figure 6.7). The new title signalled that Trübner and Co. had taken over from George Philip as publisher, although for reasons unknown. Trübner's appointment as publisher was certainly in keeping with the expressed desire to render geographical information relevant to a wide range of audiences. As Henry Rawlinson noted after the death of the publisher in 1884, 'Mr Trübner lent himself readily to any measure for advancing and popularizing knowledge'.¹⁸ Nicholas Trübner moved to London from Heidelberg in 1843 and set up business with Thomas Delf in 1851 before being joined by David Nutt shortly after. Trübner and Co. (based in Ludgate Hill) quickly established a reputation as agents for American literature and enjoyed much success with the *Bibliographical Guide to American Literature* which was written by Trübner himself before being published in 1855.¹⁹ However, Trübner's passion lay with Oriental literature and philology, he himself having studied Sanskrit and Hebrew, and the firm fast became recognised as the principal agent and publisher of this genre.²⁰ From 1865, *Trübner's American and Oriental Literary Record* helped to cement this reputation and was considered an essential guide for scholars working in the field. Indeed Nicholas Trübner's commitment to publishing Oriental works was such that he was described by William Heinemann as 'the literary intermediary between Europe and the East', a description which also reflected the fact that his agents throughout the world were able to locate and bring rare works to London for the firm's many clients.²¹ Yet the firm did not deal in Oriental literature alone, acting as publisher for various scientific societies and government agencies both in Britain and abroad. By the time that Trübner and Co. came to be associated with *Geographical*

¹⁸ H.C. Rawlinson, 'Royal Asiatic Society. Proceedings of the Sixty-First Anniversary Meeting of the Society' *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society of Great Britain and Ireland* NS 16 (4) (1884), xix.

¹⁹ H.C. Rawlinson, 'Royal Asiatic Society. Proceedings of the Sixty-First Anniversary Meeting of the Society' *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society of Great Britain and Ireland* NS 16 (4) (1884), xix; L. Howsam, 'Trübner, Nicholas (1817–1884)', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, Online Edition (Oxford University Press, 2004) <http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/27771>, accessed 01 Sept 2011.

²⁰ J.C. Francis, *Notes by the Way with Memoirs of Joseph Knight and the Rev. Woodfall Ebsworth* (London: T. Fisher Unwin, 1909), 284.

²¹ W. Heinemann, 'Nicholas Trübner' *The Bibliographer. A Journal of Book-Lore* 5 (1884), 173; L. Howsam, 'Kegan Paul, Trench, Trübner and Company Limited', *Dictionary of Literary Biography* 106 (1991), 242–43.

Review, the firm was already publishing a number of other periodicals including the *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society*, the *Anthropological Review*, the *Journal and Transactions of the Geographical Society of Bombay* and *Transactions of the Philological Society*, demonstrating that they were well accustomed to the pressures associated with publishing periodically.

The new chapter in the project's history which Trübner's appointment signalled was marked by continuity and change. Dempsey remained as proprietor and Markham as editor. The periodical itself though was extended again and also restructured. Each issue was produced in the imperial 8vo format and consisted of 44 pages in double columns.²² The two-part structure was abandoned with each number now divided into seven sections: Articles; Reviews; Correspondence; Bibliography; Cartography and Log Book of Geographical News; and Proceedings of Geographical Societies within which, Markham claimed, 'every branch of the subject finds a fitting place'.²³ However, these sections would not accommodate the kinds of series which had appeared in earlier versions of the periodical. Touristic accounts of travel in Britain and on the Continent, for example, or series dedicated to 'winter health resorts' and 'modern national anthems' found no place in the *Geographical Review*. Instead, as Markham explained, articles would aim to engage public opinion' but also address 'questions of permanent interest'. Markham was keen to ensure that the periodical made a lasting contribution to knowledge and therefore sought to provide material which would speak to both the wider public and those he identified as 'the geographers'.²⁴ After the first 12 issues of the *Geographical Review*, Markham celebrated the success of what he described as the 'first attempt to supply a record of all events relating to geographical and kindred subjects'.²⁵ He called for further support for the venture and attempted to emphasise the practical utility of geographical knowledge. Appealing to a sense of national pride also, he claimed that 'It would have been strange indeed if, in a great country like England, the birthplace of so many geographers and explorers, and where so vast a number of people depend on the extension of geographical knowledge, a magazine conducted under the plan of

²² Markham, 'A farewell to our readers', 301.

²³ C.R. Markham, 'Preface', *Ocean Highways: The Geographical Review* 1 (1873-1874), iii.

²⁴ C.R. Markham, 'Preface', *Ocean Highways: The Geographical Review* 1 (1873-1874), iii.

²⁵ C.R. Markham, 'Preface' *Ocean Highways: The Geographical Review* 1 (1873-1874), iv.

the *Geographical Review*, should not, in time, have received adequate support'.²⁶ Whilst this latest incarnation of *Ocean Highways* was still an attempt to 'popularise' geography beyond the RGS, Markham was not necessarily talking to the same audience as early versions of the periodical. For one, the annual subscription was now 26 shillings when it had started off at 1 shilling 6 pence. Of course this rise is to be expected given the expansion of the periodical but it does mean that the title was automatically less accessible. The argument for popularising geography that Markham offered in the *Geographical Review* was certainly more tactical, based on claims relating to the utility of geographical knowledge rather than a determination to celebrate the excitement of discovery and romance of travel.

The *Geographical Review* attempted to set itself apart from earlier versions of itself and from other periodicals. Markham suggested that E.G. Ravenstein's section reviewing cartographic works, for instance, would not be matched by any other publication in the country. Similarly the 'Log Book' of geographical news was said to contain information which was yet to appear elsewhere.²⁷ This emphasis upon new information was indicative of a much clearer desire to speak to the geographical community as well as the wider public. However, periodicals routinely targeted highly specific readerships. By trying to speak to both geographers and non-geographers, Trübner and Markham went against this principle. In November 1873 Dempsey approached the RGS in the hope that they might provide financial support for the venture, suggesting that readers were not responding as hoped. The RGS Council decided it would be 'unadvisable' to lend their name to a commercial venture and so rejected Dempsey's proposal. Four months later Dempsey withdrew his investment from the venture.²⁸ Trübner, Ravenstein and printers Pettitt and Co. stepped in to keep the project afloat and made one final attempt at rebranding the publication. April 1874 therefore saw the publication of the first volume of the *Geographical Magazine* (Figure 6.8).

²⁶ C.R. Markham, 'Preface' *Ocean Highways: The Geographical Review* 1(1873-1874), iv.

²⁷ C.R. Markham, 'Preface' *Ocean Highways: The Geographical Review* 1(1873-1874), iv.

²⁸ Markham, 'A farewell to our readers' 301.

Geographical Magazine

By and large, however, the *Geographical Magazine* continued with the same shape and content as the *Geographical Review*. Dempsey had latterly supplied the funds for the venture but the impetus in terms of the content and vision behind the *Magazine* appeared to come largely from Markham and Trübner. The conscious effort to establish the periodical as a publication to be read and treated as a serious source of knowledge for a variety of audiences – more semi-popular than popular perhaps – was very little changed. The previous seven sections were now reduced to six with the removal of that dedicated to ‘bibliography’ but otherwise the structure and content remained much the same. Markham had secured the services of C.E.D. Black for ‘literary work’ and employed William Ronson, whom he would later find work for in the India Office, as sub-editor, whilst Ravenstein continued in the position of cartographer to the magazine. Markham was able to rely upon a raft of naval colleagues including Sherard Osborn, James G. Goodenough, Philip H Colomb for contributions to the magazine. However, he listed his ‘best supporters’ as ‘Dr J.B. Badger, Dr Beke, Sir Henry Yule, Mr Ravenstein and Sir Richard Burton’.²⁹ With the aid of these contributors the *Magazine* continued to combine articles on topical debates and exploration with features on ongoing research. Markham’s influence on the content was tangible. He later admitted that he had tried to use the periodical to ‘secure some special objects’. Among these were the resumption and continuation of Arctic exploration and the promotion of the Indian Surveys, both of which featured heavily in the *Magazine*’s pages.

Markham drew heavily from an extensive network of friends and colleagues (including many from the RGS but also the India Office and Hakluyt Society, for example) to fill each issue of the magazine.³⁰ It is likely that he shared several of these associations with Nicholas Trübner. Henry Yule, for instance, was a well respected Oriental scholar, having prepared two works for the Hakluyt Society; *Mirabilia descripta: the Wonders of the East* (1863) and *Cathay and the Wat Thither* (1866) as well as a much celebrated edition of the *Travels of Marco Polo* (1871) which saw him awarded the Italian Geographical Society’s Gold Medal as well as

²⁹ C.R. Markham, ‘The Royal Geographical Society: A personal history of the Society’ [Handwritten MS] The Sir Clements Markham Collection, RGS/CRM/47, Royal Geographical Society, 413.

³⁰ D. Middleton, ‘The early history of the Hakluyt Society, 1847-1923’, *The Geographical Journal* 152(1986), 217-224.

the Royal Geographical Society's Founder's medal. In 1875 when he took up a post on the Council of India, he was held to be 'one of the leading authorities on the historical geography of central Asia in general and the history of medieval travel writing in particular' at this time.³¹ It is thus highly likely that the strong presence he enjoyed in the pages of the *Geographical Magazine* had to do with the interests he shared with Trübner as much as his association with Markham through the Royal Geographical Society.

Certainly it is clear that Trübner was closely acquainted with Richard Burton prior to his becoming one of the *Geographical Magazine's* more frequent contributors. The pair first met through publisher William Longman, under whom Trübner had first learned the book trade in the early 1850s and went on to mix regularly in the same circles. Trübner invited Burton to edit an edition of R.B. Marcy's *The Prairie Traveller* in 1863 (as discussed in Chapter 4) whilst the firm also published the publisher of the *Anthropological Review* and the *Journal of the Anthropological Society of London*, to which Burton was a regular contributor. Burton described the publisher as 'an active and cordial friend' emphasising that they were more than mere business associates.³² Thus although Markham surely persuaded a number of high-profile names to lend their support to the *Geographical Magazine*, we should not forget that Nicholas Trübner was also a significant scholar in his own right, with a keen interest in, and extensive knowledge of, the geography of the East who likely attracted his fair share of attention too.

With only 1200 subscribers, however, contributions from notable travellers and geographical authorities were not enough to make the *Geographical Magazine* sufficiently profitable. In July 1877 Ravenstein withdrew his investment.³³ The following year, Trübner sought financial assistance from the RGS. The publisher explained that 'notwithstanding all the efforts of the Proprietors, the receipts have never yet been nearly sufficient to cover the expenditure for editorial, printing,

³¹ F. Driver, 'Sir Henry Yule (1820-1889)' *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, Online Edition (Oxford University Press, 2004) (Accessed 01 September 2011)

³² R.F. Burton, 'Spanish and Portuguese South America during the Colonial Period [Review]' *Academy* (628) (1884), 343.

³³ Markham, 'A farewell to our readers', 301.

engraving, and other expenses'.³⁴ As a result, claimed Trübner, 'the Proprietors have reluctantly arrived at the conclusion, that it is hopeless to expect sufficient patronage at the hands of the general public, and they will be forced to discontinue unless they receive assistance from some influential quarter'.³⁵ The RGS again decided that it would be 'unadvisable' to lend their name to a commercial publishing venture (the reasons for which are explored below). This effectively sealed the periodical's fate and the final issue appeared in December 1878.

Adopting a longer view of this attempt to 'popularise' geography, it becomes clear that the transformation of the periodical from *Our Ocean Highways* to the *Geographical Magazine* resulted in fewer readers. The *Geographical Magazine* came to an end as semi-popular periodical, acting as an unofficial organ of the RGS, presenting specialist knowledge in a form which might instruct and entertain but crucially, at a price which rendered it beyond the reaches of many of those it initially set out to target. This case also highlights the value of exploring the connections between different periodical titles. For example, although the *Geographical Magazine* was presented as a new venture, there were clear similarities with the editions of *Ocean Highways*. This is significant because Trübner and Markham carried their aims and expectations forward from the previous versions of the periodical. At the same time readers also came to the *Geographical Magazine* expecting a degree of continuity. Bearing this in mind helps us to better understand the decline in readership that occurred over the course of the venture: what was popular with publishers and editors would not always prove so with different groups of readers.

6.2 Publishing Travel Periodically

This chapter has so far shed light on the key individuals who helped to shape the content of *Our Ocean Highways* and the *Geographical Magazine*, demonstrating that although the periodical was always viewed as an opportunity to 'popularise' geography, this meant different things to different people. This section examines

³⁴ Trübner and Co. to The President and Council of the Royal Geographical Society, [1878], Correspondence RGS/CB6/2218, Royal Geographical Society.

³⁵ Trübner and Co. to The President and Council of the Royal Geographical Society, [1878], Correspondence RGS/CB6/2218, Royal Geographical Society; 'Memorandum by the Assistant Secretary on suggested changes in the *Proceedings*' Committee Minute Book, 1877-1883, RGS/AP/MB, Royal Geographical Society, 56.

how the periodical format was used by those behind the various versions of *Ocean Highways* and the *Geographical Magazine* as they sought to bring geographical knowledge to a wider audience, highlighting too that these periodicals were always connected to wider networks of print.

Topicality and Controversy

One of the main strengths of periodical publishing, particularly for scientific and other scholarly materials, was its ability to incorporate unexpected or unpredictable events or ‘discoveries’ apparently ‘as they happened’. Whilst book publishing was generally a lengthy process, allowing for much time to pass between the event and the published account of said event appearing, periodicals were able to respond more quickly to topical events because of their quarterly, monthly or weekly publishing schedule. *Our Ocean Highways* and the *Geographical Magazine* operated as an arena for debate, as authors contributed their own interpretations of controversial claims to geographical knowledge either in the form of articles or in letters to the editor. This was not uncommon, of course, for as Henson et al. remark, ‘periodicals thrived on controversy and intellectual disputes like no other nineteenth-century mode of cultural production’ and so there was no shortage of editors willing to let their publications be drawn into battle.³⁶ Markham and Trübner, whatever their personal views on such matters, would have recognised that controversy played out within and between periodicals was unlikely to damage sales or the reputation of their periodicals so long as it was conducted in a gentlemanly fashion.

Throughout the 1870s the *Geographical Record*, *Geographical Review* and *Geographical Magazine* were implicated in attempts to construct, circulate and contest the latest geographical “discoveries”. This is particularly clear in the context of Henry Morton Stanley’s expeditions. Stanley came to fame following his infamous ‘discovery’ of David Livingstone at Ujiji on Lake Tanganyika in October 1871, described in *How I Found Livingstone* which was published the following year by the *New York Herald*. After four months with Livingstone, Stanley returned to England to a furore of criticism. Not only were his claims to have found Livingstone called into question but his geographical measurements were also derided. Markham

³⁶ L. Henson, G. Cantor, G. Dawson, R. Noakes, S. Shuttleworth and J. Topham (eds.) *Culture and Science in the Nineteenth-Century Media* (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2004) xix.

was prominent among the critics. The publication of Stanley's account of his meeting with Livingstone received a lukewarm reception within the *Geographical Record*. In December 1872, an unsigned review of *How I Found Livingstone: Travels, Adventures and Discoveries in Central Africa* repeatedly suggested that Stanley 'had none of the qualifications of a scientific traveller, and no knowledge to enable him to make a map of a new country' although the reviewer did acknowledge that the explorer had 'described districts not previously known to us'.³⁷ The reviewer's main objective, however, appeared to be the defence of the Royal Geographical Society. The article complained that accusations made against the Society in *The Times* were ill-founded and argued that the RGS had recognised the explorer's achievements in full and as soon as was possible. The piece also sought to rectify 'another erroneous statement in *The Times*' which suggested that Stanley had been awarded the Society's Victoria Medal for his geographical discoveries. As the reviewer reiterated once more, 'Mr Stanley's geographical work, in the absence of all astronomical observation and exact data of any kind, does not entitle him to the medal'. It was rather his 'gallant and splendid' 'relief of Livingstone' which earned him the award. Stanley was thus presented to readers of the *Geographical Record* as a brave and intrepid explorer but one entirely lacking in any scientific credentials.

Stanley's second expedition of 1874-1877, supported by the *Daily Telegraph*, caused further controversy. Like many other periodicals, the *Geographical Magazine* closely examined his dispatches and kept readers updated as to his progress. Readers did not only look to the *Magazine* for information, they used it to publicly engage in a debate about Stanley's conduct and the geographical "discoveries" he claimed to have made. The November 1875 issue of the *Geographical Magazine*, for example, published a letter to the editor signed by Richard Burton, dated October 19, 1875. In it Burton claimed that he felt it his 'duty to warn your readers, as I did nearly three years ago, against accepting, without the gravest consideration, the statements put forward by Mr. Henry Morton Stanley in the *Daily Telegraph* (Oct. 15th and 18th, 1875).³⁸ Burton critiqued many of Stanley's measurements, taking particular issue with those relating to the Victoria Nyanza heralded, but as yet unconfirmed, as a

³⁷ 'Mr Stanley's expedition', *Ocean Highways: Geographical Review*, 9 (1872), 280-281.

³⁸ R.F. Burton, 'Mr Burton and the Victoria Nyanza. Letter to the Editor' *Geographical Magazine* 2 (1875), 354.

source of the Nile. He also ridiculed Stanley's apparent reliance upon native testimony, noting that 'Every African traveller well knows that the tribes with few exceptions are ignorant, except by hearsay, of the lands lying a few marches from their doors'.³⁹ This attack was quickly picked up upon by other periodicals too with the *Journal of the American Geographical Society* reproducing Burton's critique of Stanley in full, adding the title 'Critical Review of Stanley's Work' as if to emphasise the nature of the letter.⁴⁰ Burton himself was eager to keep the momentum going and perhaps deciding that the monthly publishing schedule of the *Geographical Magazine* was not quick enough for his purposes or maybe simply seeking a wider audience for his claims, he chose the weekly *Athenaeum* to 'complete the statement which [he] made in the *Geographical Magazine*'.⁴¹ The disputed accuracy of Stanley's measurements continued to attract attention in the *Geographical Magazine* though with E. G. Ravenstein publishing his own contribution to the debate in the next issue. The cartographer responded to three letters lately published in the *Daily Telegraph*. In contrast to Burton, Ravenstein noted that the geographical community had now been 'supplied, for the first time, with authentic information respecting the configuration and extent of the Victoria Nyanza, and its most considerable tributary river, the Shimiya'.⁴² Although the cartographer informed readers that the materials that Stanley had sent from Africa were but 'fragmentary' he nonetheless reported that they were to be regarded with 'such importance and interest' that the details had been included on two maps for readers of the *Geographical Magazine* to digest for themselves. Ravenstein provided a commentary to accompany both maps explaining Stanley's route and describing the peoples and places encountered along the way. Commenting upon the disparity between the measurements made by Stanley and those previously obtained by Speke, Ravenstein noted that 'as the results as far as they have been communicated, differ considerably from those of Speke, and will probably be modified considerably on his register of observations being subjected to a rigid examination, we thought best to discard them for the present'. Evidently feeling far more generous towards Stanley

³⁹ R.F. Burton, 'Mr Burton and the Victoria Nyanza. Letter to the Editor' *Geographical Magazine* 2 (1875), 355.

⁴⁰ R.F. Burton, 'Mr Stanley's Expedition', *Athenaeum* 2509 (1875), 712-713.

⁴¹ R.F. Burton, 'Mr Stanley's Expedition', *Athenaeum* 2509 (1875), 712.

⁴² E.G. Ravenstein, 'Stanley's exploration of the Victoria Nyanza', *Geographical Magazine*, 2 (1875), 369.

than Burton, Ravenstein reasoned that 'These differences are after all but small when dealing with countries so imperfectly known'.⁴³

However, it was not only the veracity of Stanley's measurements that were debated within the *Geographical Magazine*. The release of dispatches in 1876 describing an attack on the indigenous population on Bumbire Island in Lake Victoria sparked fierce criticism throughout the British press. The *Geographical Magazine* recounted and denounced Stanley's 'act of barbarity' which it could see no just cause for. While the *Magazine* concluded that 'The details sent home by Mr Stanley in these letters are of geographical importance' it also warned that 'Knowledge is dearly bought at the cost of piratical proceedings of this nature'.⁴⁴ While the geographical community were quick to criticise Stanley's behaviour, it did not lead to a formal act of censure by the RGS. Henry Hyndman used the pages of the *Pall Mall Gazette* to call for the Society to take a stand against Stanley's actions but support was not forthcoming. The fact that Stanley was a not Fellow of the Society and the expedition had not been organised through the Society made this position slightly easier to defend but it did not deter Hyndman from publishing a pamphlet with Henry Yule outlining the case against Stanley. However, many Fellows appeared content to do nothing.⁴⁵

Within the *Geographical Magazine*, the stance adopted in relation to Stanley gradually altered. Although the explorer was ridiculed in 1872 and condemned in 1876, by December 1877, his nine-month navigation of the Congo was being heralded as an achievement 'of the highest geographical importance', one which moreover 'places Mr Stanley in the first rank among African discoverers'.⁴⁶ In the issue of March 1878, the *Magazine* carried an article which offered an explanation for this change of heart:

⁴³ E.G. Ravenstein 'Stanley's exploration of the Victoria Nyanza', *Geographical Magazine*, 2 (1875), 373.

⁴⁴ 'Mr Stanley's proceedings in the Lake Region of Central Africa', *Geographical Magazine*, 3 (1876), 247.

⁴⁵ H. Yule and H.M. Hyndman, *Mr Henry M. Stanley and the Royal Geographical Society* (London: Bickers, 1878); H.M. Hyndman, *Record of an Adventurous Life* (New York: The Macmillan Company, 1911), 151-152.

⁴⁶ 'Mr Stanley's voyage down the Congo', *Geographical Magazine*, 4 (1877), 319.

Mr Stanley's achievements in Africa have been so great, his services to geographical science are of such extraordinary value, that the occurrence of anything which would appear to detract from his merits as an explorer is much to be regretted.⁴⁷

Although earlier articles had found him thoroughly lacking the skills and intelligence necessary for making accurate measurements, his maps were now singled out for praise. How though could the *Geographical Magazine* reconcile this praise for Stanley's discoveries with its condemnation of his methods? The dispatch in which Stanley had relayed the offending events of 1876 was now determined to have been 'written hastily in the midst of toilsome and exciting work' and consequently, the author reasoned, did 'not describe all the circumstances which led to the attack'.⁴⁸ Additional information obtained from Stanley in the intervening period had served to convince the author of the article that it was possible to cast Stanley's ambush in a different light. The author now conceded that the 'man on the spot, finding himself surrounded by perils on all sides and responsible for the lives of many followers, must be acknowledged to be the sole competent judge [of whether such force was] 'an absolute necessary'.

With more space we might delve further into the *Geographical Magazine's* treatment of Stanley (and how it compared to that of other periodicals).⁴⁹ However, as it is, this case reminds us that some of the benefits offered by periodical publishing could be double-edged in the context of travel and exploration. Chapter 3 highlighted that there could be a considerable delay between an explorer returning home and a book-length account appearing, yet we have seen that articles, reviews and letters could be used to discuss geographical discoveries apparently 'as they happened'. However, publishing snippets of information as they were received from the field was potentially problematic. The decision of the *Geographical Magazine* to retract its comments condemning Stanley for unprovoked acts of violence highlighted that in the context of travel, publishing periodically could mean publishing without all the facts to hand.

⁴⁷ 'Mr Stanley', *Geographical Magazine* 5 (1878), 53.

⁴⁸ 'Mr Stanley', *Geographical Magazine* 5 (1878), 53.

⁴⁹ On the wider reception of Stanley in the periodical press see F. Driver, 'Henry Morton Stanley and his critics: geography, exploration and empire', *Past & Present* 133 (1991), 134-166.

Serialisation

Periodicals did not thrive on controversy alone, however. There were many less sensational devices that could encourage readers to return to the same title, issue after issue. The reliance of many literary periodicals on the serialisation of fiction is well documented.⁵⁰ However, as the periodicals considered in this chapter highlight, serialisation was also a tactic that could be deployed by publishers of non-fiction publications in an attempt to encourage readers to make a financial commitment to a number of issues.⁵¹ ‘Our Home Tour’ and ‘Our Foreign Tour’ were important features of the *Monthly Supplement* for instance. The ‘home tour’ relayed descriptions of the built and natural environs encountered upon relatively short routes – Bristol to London, Hull to London, via York, Glasgow to Edinburgh and Edinburgh to London for instance – which would have been familiar in principle at least to many readers of the supplement. The very periodicity of the publication of course rendered it a particularly suitable means of relaying short tours for, just as travellers necessarily divided their journeys into manageable sections so too readers could enjoy the latest routes in easily digestible chunks. Serialisation also helped to encourage readers to stay with the publication as it transitioned from *Our Ocean Highways: The Geographical Record & Travellers Register* to *Ocean Highways: The Geographical Record*. Even after the title of the periodical had changed and the publisher had been replaced, for instance, ‘Our Home Tour’ and A.G. L’Estrange’s ‘Mr Fairweather’s Yachting’ continued into July and August 1872 respectively rewarding the loyalty of readers who would have followed these features over many months.

The problem with some serialisations, however, was that whilst they made sense when read as part of a series, they were not necessarily as appealing to a new reader, although it would always be hoped of course, that readers missing earlier parts might be convinced to purchase back issues. By publishing articles that were grouped around a common theme but not necessarily directly following on from each

⁵⁰ L. Brake ‘Star turn? Magazine, part-issue, and book serialisation’, *Victorian Periodicals Review*, 34 (2001), 208-227; G. Law, *Serializing Fiction in the Victorian Press* (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2000); L.K. Hughes and M. Lund, *The Victorian Serial* (Charlotte: University of Virginia Press, 1991).

⁵¹ On serialization in the context of science see G. Cantor and S. Shuttleworth (eds.), *Science Serialized: Representation of the Sciences in Nineteenth-Century Periodicals* (Massachusetts: MIT Press, 2004).

other, new readers could be welcomed at any time. There was also the possibility that an individual whose interest would not necessarily be piqued by a publication titled *Our Ocean Highways* might find something in one of these sets of articles to warrant a one-off purchase. Certainly, George Philip appeared to share this hope, advertising individual essays on topics such as 'winter health resorts' and 'modern national anthems' in their own right as well as the issues in which they appeared.⁵²

Serial parts though were primarily intended to be read together. For this reason authors could hope to use the serial format and the monthly rhythm of publication to build up support for a particular cause over time. Markham, for example, was responsible for a series titled 'The Threshold of the Unknown Region' which began in July 1872. The first part in the series explained, 'The time having come for a renewed effort to complete the exploration of the unknown Polar region, we propose to publish a series of papers which will give a complete view of existing knowledge which separates the threshold of the known from the known'. Markham went on to state that the 'The series will be completed in ten numbers and by that time we trust that an expedition will be fitted out under the eye of the admiral superintendant at Portsmouth Dockyard', emphasising that Markham intended to use the *Geographical Record* as a space for promoting his own interests.⁵³ This particular case also highlights that periodicals were not only important proving grounds for fictional literature. Following the completion of the series in the *Geographical Record*, *The Threshold of the Unknown Region* was published as a book, going through four editions between 1873 and 1876.⁵⁴ Although not an exact reprint of the material featured within the periodical, Markham explained in the preface to the second edition that 'the object of the present volume, which is partly reprinted from a series of articles in "*Ocean Highways*" is to give the public a correct knowledge of the whole line of frontier separating the known from the unknown region round the North Pole ... to set forth the arguments in favour of a renewal of Arctic exploration by England, and to renumerate, in detail the valuable

⁵² 'Classified advertising', *The Times* (May 30, 1872), 14.

⁵³ [C. Markham] *Ocean Highways: The Geographical Record* 4 (1872), 115.

⁵⁴ C.R. Markham, *The Threshold of the Unknown Region* Second Edition (London: Sampson Low, Marston, Low & Searle, 1873).

and important results to be derived from North Pole discovery'⁵⁵, highlighting that the book was very much a continuation of what Markham had tried to achieve within the periodical. Markham though was not the only author to see work from the periodical published separately. Henry Spencer Palmer's series 'The Ordnance Survey of the Kingdom' was published in 1873 by Edward Stanford with a note on the title page indicating that it was 'Reprinted, with permission, and slightly altered from "Ocean Highways"'. Trübner demonstrated that publishing both books and periodicals could prove advantageous as one format could be used to promote the other. In 1878, for example, he published Rink's English translation of the *Memoirs of Hans Hendrik, The Arctic Traveller Serving Under Kane, Hayes, Hall and Nares (1853-1876)* which had been already been serialised in the *Geographical Magazine* from February of that year. Publishers like Trubner might have hoped that the appearance of works in serial form would create a market for the extended form while authors might also have viewed the periodical as a means of reaching a wider audience who could not necessarily afford to purchase books regularly.

The Periodical as a Site of Synthesis

That several series travelled beyond their original publishing context reminds us that periodicals were intricately connected to wider networks of print. Several features of the periodicals considered in this chapter helped to ensure that each issue operated as a site of synthesis, bringing together information from a range of published (and unpublished) sources. The 'Log Book' of news regularly offered readers of the early supplements short snippets from a range of literary periodicals, for example, providing insights into the events and people which were dominating the wider periodical press for those who would not necessarily encounter these periodicals for themselves. 'Our Literary Sea Chest' meanwhile contained short reviews and notices of recently published works. It is noteworthy, however, that while the *Monthly Supplement* was on the face of it overwhelming geographical in its focus, the publications included in each 'Sea Chest' were not necessarily so. Historical essays, poetry, plays, novels and medical works with the 'peculiar experiences' of travellers were regularly noticed in the supplements drawing attention to the connections

⁵⁵ C.R. Markham *The Threshold of the Unknown Region*, Second Edition (London: Sampson Low, Marston, Low & Searle, 1873), vii-viii

between these geographical periodicals and the wider literary sphere.⁵⁶ However, after Clements Markham became involved with the project in an official capacity, both the 'Log Book' and 'Reviews' (as they were now titled) became considerably more focused on documenting and debating contributions to geographical knowledge. Each issue of the *Geographical Record, Review and Magazine*, for instance, contained a selection of longer reviews followed by a series of shorter notices all assessing the value of the contribution made by each author. The longer reviews were often accompanied by short extracts or in some cases maps to aid explanation for those that had not already or would not encounter a copy for themselves.⁵⁷ Periodical content was also noticed alongside books with Guido Cora's *Cosmos* and Petermann's *Mittheilungen* receiving regular attention. Indeed the reviews sections routinely noticed works published outside Britain, helping to bring English geographers into conversation with their North American and European counterparts (something which the section containing 'Proceedings of the Geographical Societies' also did). Ravenstein's Cartography section was similarly international in its focus raising questions about the international circulation of geographical works, including of course, the *Our Ocean Highways* titles and the *Geographical Magazine* themselves which were 'registered for transmission abroad' and available through several foreign agents (see also Chapter 3).

Just as these periodicals synthesised works published elsewhere, so they also moved through other sites of synthesis, being advertised and reviewed in a range of print spaces. Advertisements within *The Times* and *Athenaeum* for instance, listed the entire contents of a monthly issue while some offered lists of all the maps to be published so far, suggesting that some readers may find the collection of maps as appealing as the textual content. Philips cleverly used the advertising press to imply a formal link with the Royal Geographical Society perhaps believing that this might help to bolster sales among a particular sector of the geographical community, despite the fact that no formal association had been agreed upon. As well as

⁵⁶ The issue for February 1871, for example included J.R. Seeley's *Lectures and Essays*, Anthony Trollope's *Sir Harvey Hotspur*, *Aunt Judy's Magazine*, A.C. Swinburne's *Songs before Sunrise* J.S. Blackie's *War Songs of the Germans*, J.W. Foake's *Gout and Rheumatic Gout* and *The Marquis de Beavoir's Voyage Round the World with the Orleanist Princes*. *Our Ocean Highways: A Monthly Supplement to the Annual Volume*, 11 (1871) 32-33.

⁵⁷ 'Reviews. Mr Stanley's expedition', *Ocean Highways: The Geographical Record*, 2 (9) (1872), 280-281.

advertising the *Geographical Record and Travellers' Register* in its own right, the publisher placed additional adverts for 'The Royal Geographical Society's Proceedings' which instructed interested readers to 'see Our Ocean Highways, the Geographical Record'.⁵⁸ Whilst adverts can reveal how publishers wish readers to encounter their works, publishers and authors have less influence over the way that reviewers introduce potential readers to their works. Several periodicals regularly updated their readers when a new issue of the *Geographical Magazine* was ready and more importantly, indicated which articles were considered to be particularly important. The *Magazine* was considered alongside general literary periodicals, scientific works or other travel texts, depending on the specific nature of the reviewing periodical. The *Examiner* of August 1874, for instance, positioned the *Geographical Magazine* within a larger section of 'Notes on Monthlies' which included short comments on publications such as the *Contemporary Review*, *Fraser's Magazine*, *Blackwood's*, *Macmillan's* and *Temple Bar* which served to suggest that these magazines might share a common standard of content and appeal to similar audiences. The *Geographical Magazine* although possessing a narrower focus than the others considered was seemingly not considered so specialist as to be ought of the range of those with a general interest in travel and exploration. The reviewer informed his readers that they would find the *Geographical Magazine* 'very ably conducted' and pointed out 'an interesting account of Lieut. Cameron's expedition to Ujiji in search of Dr Livingstone's Map and Journal' as being of particular note.⁵⁹

The weekly illustrated newspaper, the *Graphic* also reviewed issues of the *Geographical Magazine* alongside other general-interest periodicals such as *Temple Bar*, the *British Quarterly Review* and the *Contemporary Review* although its reviewer noted that 'The Geographical Magazine caters for a special body of customers' but that 'its catering is uncommonly well done'. The *Graphic* also suggested that 'Independent of the literary contents which are always interesting, those who take the magazine regularly will gradually acquire a series of maps on a scale not attainable in any ordinary atlas'.⁶⁰ Such discussions introduced non-

⁵⁸ 'Classified advertising', *The Times*, (May 30, 1872), 14; 'Classified advertising', *The Times*, (June 1, 1872), 2.

⁵⁹ 'Notes on the monthlies', *Examiner* (August 8, 1874), 859.

⁶⁰ 'Magazines', *Graphic*, (September 18, 1875), 286.

specialist readers to what was seen by the *Graphic* as a specialist publication by emphasising the particular utility of the visual materials accompanying each issue rather than the written content which was more commonly discussed. Other reviewers felt it more fitting to consider the *Geographical Magazine* in specific sections dedicated to science or travel. The weekly *Athenaeum* which addressed a range of topics relating to literature, the arts, politics and popular science usually confined its discussion of the contents of the *Geographical Magazine* to the 'Science' section of the periodical, under the sub-heading of 'geographical notes'. These notes were drawn from a range of sources including the publications of the Royal Geographical Society and the amount of space dedicated to any one publication could vary dramatically from issue to issue depending on whether the contents of a particular article or map struck a chord with the reviewer or not. Some issues would see the reviewer give a small taster of what could be found in the current issue whilst others would provoke a more lengthy consideration of a particular article or map. That the *Athenaeum* and similar publications could play an important role in emphasising that trustworthy and timely information could be obtained from the *Geographical Magazine* is evinced by the pieces that appeared in June 1876 relating to news of Pundit Nain Singh's journey across Tibet. As the *Athenaeum* reported 'The details are not yet accessible to the public, but a very brief notice of the journey and map of the route have appeared in this month's *Geographical Magazine*'.⁶¹ This story also captured the interest of the *Academy's* reviewer who was another to regularly update readers as to what the magazine was publishing under the heading of 'Notes of Travel'. The periodical also offered a detailed account of Nain Singh's journey describing the 'really wonderful exploit' for those that may not have read the *Magazine* themselves.⁶²

The publications of the Royal Geographical Society were also another means of publicising the material within *Our Ocean Highways* and the *Geographical Magazine*. President Henry Rawlinson for instance, marked Markham's appointment as editor of the *Ocean Highways: The Geographical Record* by drawing attention to the fact that 'It contains in each number a popularized summary of Geographical facts, such as the progress of expeditions, remarkable travels, and so forth'. He also

⁶¹ 'Geographical notes', *Athenaeum*, 2537 (1867), 799.

⁶² 'Notes of travel', *Academy* (June 17, 1876), 584.

suggested that the periodicals might 'assist in the spread of information of this character in this country and abroad' thus serving to further popular interest in their subject area and moreover, 'under improved editorship' would now 'add original articles on Geographical subjects and reviews of all important Geographical works and books of travel' making a publication which would also be worthy of consideration by Fellows.⁶³ Later Presidential Addresses considered the content of the *Geographical Record* in greater detail highlighting that whilst as later discussion shall reveal, not all those within the Society were keen to emulate the particular kind of success enjoyed by this publication, it was nevertheless considered as a valuable resource of geographical information. For example, Rawlinson noted that 'during the summer months of last year, while public attention was powerfully drawn to the subject of Dr Livingstone's discoveries in Central Africa and to the remarkable exploit of Mr Stanley, there appeared a valuable sketch-map by Keith Johnston, giving the positions of places mentioned by Livingstone and his routes; and several editorial articles written with great spirit and knowledge of the subject'. The *Geographical Record* was in this instance considered both timely and authoritative.⁶⁴ Several authors writing in the Society's periodicals also referenced articles and maps previously published in the periodical revealing that although it may have been considered as a popular magazine in a negative sense by some within the RGS, for many it was a legitimate and reliable source of geographical information. The RGS was not the only learned institution though to pick up on the value of the material within the *Geographical Magazine* in particular with the periodical appearing monthly in the *American Naturalist's* list of 'scientific serials'. The Society of American Naturalists' journal placed the *Magazine* alongside a number of other geographical works including the *Proceedings of the Royal Geographical Society* and *Petermann's Geographischer Mittheilungen* but also a range of more specialist scientific journals including the *Monthly Microscopical Journal* and the *Quarterly Journal of Microscopical Science*.⁶⁵ Thus although *Ocean Highways* may not have been considered to be worthy of review and notice in the same way that the

⁶³ H. Rawlinson, 'Address to the Royal Geographical Society', *Proceedings of the Royal Geographical Society of London* 16 (4) (1871-1872), 326-27.

⁶⁴ H. Rawlinson, 'Address to the Royal Geographical Society', *Proceedings of the Royal Geographical Society of London* 17(4) (1872-1873), 261.

⁶⁵ 'Scientific serials', *American Naturalist* 10 (1876), 63-64, 68-69.

Geographical Magazine was, the latter certainly benefitted from broader networks of print which carried information about the latest issues to a much wider range of audiences that would likely have encountered the *Magazine* first hand in a bookshop. Different periodicals presented the magazine in specific ways according to the conventions and interests of the particular publication.

Reading Patterns

How did readers respond to these sites of synthesis? Periodicals offered greater freedom not just in a financial sense but also in terms of how they could be approached. The periodical permits individuals, encourages them even, to consume the material contained within its pages according to their own particular priorities. For some, reading cover to cover may have been the preferred option but for many others, reading would likely take place over a number of sittings and probably in an order which reflected their own particular interests rather than those of the editor or publisher. We might assume, however, that the decision to divide those long-running features from more topical content in the *Geographical Record* reflected the belief of the publisher and editor that readers might also consume the materials within the publication in this way also. This highlights that whilst the periodical does enable multiple reading patterns, these patterns are limited by certain constraints imposed by the physicality of the printed object. The ability of a reader quickly to locate the material he or she finds most interesting is enabled by the reproduction of that material according to a predictable and continuous pattern. Although the material within each section of the *Geographical Review* might differ on a monthly basis the fact that the same basic structure of seven sections was preserved, with each issue placed in a recognisable order so that the articles are followed by the reviews followed by the bibliography by the cartography and so on, offered the reader a familiar frame to work around. This device, deployed throughout the run of the *Geographical Magazine*, was a crucial strategy deployed by the publishers and editors attempting to capture their own share of the market. As Margaret Beetham notes,

The form is mixed and various, but each individual periodical has to maintain a certain consistency of mixture. Every number is different,

but it is still “the same” periodical. This consistency is necessary so that the reader keeps coming back to buy.⁶⁶

Whilst this is true, it is important to note that those reading individual issues and those reading from bound volumes may have approached the contents of the periodical in different ways. Bound volumes not only package successive issues together making reading across volumes easier by physically placing successive issues next to one another, but they also frequently added or removed material. Additions might include a preface reflecting upon the ‘success’ of the issues before the reader or an index to allow readers to move easily across different issues, while advertisements or covers might be removed prior to binding. This was case with the *Geographical Magazine* which supplied those purchasing, borrowing or simply reading the bound volumes of the publication with an extensive list of contents which not only grouped material in the volume according to geographical region but also then sub-divided it according to the particular section it appeared in – maps, articles, reviews, etc. (Figure 6.8) The impact of this was a list that defied the periodicity of the original issues though retained an attention to the structure of the monthly outputs albeit at the level of the region only. Noteworthy, however, was the fact that certain materials could not be neatly divided according to continent and thus ‘general’ and ‘miscellaneous’ sections disrupted this attempt at reclassification. Similarly, ‘personal memoranda’, obituaries and the Proceedings of Societies avoided geographical organisation producing a somewhat idiosyncratic guide in the process.

Yet structuring devices like contents pages or predictable ordering systems were not simply constraints imposed upon readers but could also be read as signs that readers responded well to these particular features of the periodical. For instance, the fact that certain features persisted across different versions of *Ocean Highways* and the *Geographical Magazine* may indicate that these were considered (by the publishers and editors at least) as being those that were best suited to meeting the readers’ demands. The decision not to include long running serialisations in the *Geographical Review* and *Geographical Magazine* could be taken either as a sign that the publisher and editor no longer felt these appropriate means to convey

⁶⁶ Margaret Beetham, ‘Open and closed: the periodical as a publishing genre’, *Victorian Periodicals Review* 22 (1989), 98.

geographical knowledge in a respectable fashion or an acknowledgement that the present crop of readers were failing to respond to these features. Certainly it made commercial sense to stick to a tried and tested formula if it appeared to be working.

6.3 An Ambivalent Response: The RGS and Popular Periodicals

Having considered the content and format of *Our Ocean Highways* and the *Geographical Magazine*, we now return to the question of the relationship between these publications and the RGS, as introduced in section 6.1. By examining the appeals made by Maurice Dempsey, Nicholas Trübner as well as Clements Markham and the responses they elicited from the RGS Council, we can gain a better understanding of the ambivalent response that commercial periodical publishing could provoke, in particular gaining an insight into why the periodical might be viewed simultaneously as a means of widening geography's appeal among the general reading public as a potential threat to the authority of the Society.

Clements Markham had long advocated periodical publishing as a means of disseminating topical geographical information. As noted above, he had sought support for a new series of the RGS *Journal* which would contain 'not only papers read and discussions, but also papers not read, reviews, bibliography, and geographical news, with fuller map illustration' before becoming involved with the *Geographical Record*.⁶⁷ Markham argued that the kind of volume he envisaged would negate the need for a separate set of Proceedings as currently existed and render the new publication 'the leading authority in the world on all subjects relating to Geography'.⁶⁸ However, he failed to attract the support of then President Henry Rawlinson (1871-1873, 1874-1876) or indeed of the Council at large. Although the precise reasons for the widespread reluctance to alter the *status quo* remain unclear, Markham's own memoirs suggest that he and Henry Bartle Frere, who would himself enjoy a brief spell as RGS President, felt that opinions could be swayed if a means of demonstrating Markham's intentions practically could be found. It was Frere's suggestion, Markham claimed, that he edit *Ocean Highways* in 1872 with a

⁶⁷ Markham, 'A farewell to our readers', .301.

⁶⁸ C.R. Markham, 'Memorandum for the Special Proceedings Committee' Committee Minute', November 18, 1878, Correspondence RGS/CB6/1531, Royal Geographical Society.

view to demonstrating that the 'almost moribund' periodical could function as a valuable repository of geographical knowledge.⁶⁹

The RGS and *Ocean Highways: the Geographical Review*

In November 1873, Markham, this time supported by the proprietor of *Ocean Highways* Maurice Dempsey, would again encourage the Council of the Society to reconsider the present arrangements for publishing their own proceedings. Whereas Markham had previously sought to refashion the Society's *Journal* and abolish the *Proceedings*, he now suggested that the *Journal* as it presently stood might be complemented by *Ocean Highways: The Geographical Record*. Dempsey wrote to the Society offering to include the Society's *Proceedings* within the *Geographical Record* in return for a commitment from the Society that they would purchase one copy for every Fellow at a cost of one shilling each.⁷⁰ However, it would be Markham and not Dempsey that would attempt to provide a rationale for the Society becoming involved with a more avowedly popular publication. He was eager to impress upon others that this mode of publishing the Society's *Proceedings* would allow Fellows and others to receive news of the latest goings on in a much more timely fashion. As he explained, 'the Proceedings would appear every month, and punctually to the day; so that the reports of papers and discussions would never be a month old, and the second meeting in a month would be reported a week or sometimes a few days after the meeting'.⁷¹ For Markham, 'the most rapid publication of the Society's Proceedings' was seemingly the prime benefit of refashioning *Ocean Highways* as the 'Society's official organ', 'under the name perhaps of the "The Geographical Record and Proceedings of the Royal Geographical Society"'. However, it was not the publishing schedule alone that recommended itself in Markham's eyes. Unsurprisingly, given his own involvement with the publication to date, Markham also reminded Council members that those in receipt of the new publication would also receive valuable 'articles on geographical subjects, reviews of books and maps, news of interest to geographers, and reports of

⁶⁹ C.R. Markham, 'The Royal Geographical Society: A personal history of the Society' [Handwritten MS] The Sir Clements Markham Collection, RGS/CRM/47, Royal Geographical Society, 412.

⁷⁰ J.M. Dempsey, 'Proposal to publish the Proceedings of the Royal Geographical Society', November 6, 1873, Correspondence RGS/CB6/1531, Royal Geographical Society.

⁷¹ C.R. Markham, 'Memorandum for the Special Proceedings Committee' Committee Minute', November 18, 1878, Correspondence RGS/CB6/1531, Royal Geographical Society.

the proceedings of Foreign Geographical Societies; besides maps to illustrate some of the papers'.⁷² Markham was keen to stress that in its present form, *Ocean Highways* had already achieved 'considerable circulation on the continent and America' and thus, any improvement which the Society could make would, in his eyes, render the publication 'very influential', vastly increasing the 'Society's power of usefulness' in the process.⁷³

The Council established a 'Proceedings Committee' which included Francis Galton, cartographer A.G. Finlay, Honorary Secretary Richard Henry Major (of the British Museum), Assistant Secretary Henry Walter Bates in order to consider the proposal. Despite Markham's evident enthusiasm for formally linking the *Geographical Record and Journal*, he seemingly could not convert others to his way of thinking. On 14 November 1878, the Committee reported that the proposal was to be declined.⁷⁴ Although the minutes of the Committee's meetings do not reveal exactly why it was deemed 'unadvisable' to print the Society's own proceedings with the *Magazine*, the Society's response to a subsequent offer by Dempsey does offer greater insight into attitudes towards both and its own *Proceedings* at this time.

Upon finding that the Society had rejected his proposal to effectively subsidise the periodical in return for dedicating space to their *Proceedings*, Dempsey suggested that the Society might purchase the magazine outright.⁷⁵ Whilst this would alleviate any concerns that might have existed over the degree of control which the Society may or may not have been able to exert over the wider content of the publication whilst still allowing access to an established market, the Council once more decided that the proposal was 'undesirable' and determined instead that it would be 'much more reasonable to enlarge their *Proceedings*, to make it a monthly publication, to include in it what is now published in the journal, and thus establish a

⁷² C.R. Markham, 'Memorandum for the Special Proceedings Committee' Committee Minute', November 18, 1878, Correspondence RGS/CB6/1531, Royal Geographical Society..

⁷³ C.R. Markham, 'Memorandum for the Special Proceedings Committee' Committee Minute', November 18, 1878, Correspondence RGS/CB6/1531, Royal Geographical Society.

⁷⁴ Proceedings Committee, Committee Minute Book, 1872-1877, RGS/AP/MB, Royal Geographical Society, 75-76. This was not the first time that the Society had turned down an offer from a commercial outlet willing to publish news of their activities. As Mill's *The Record of the Royal Geographical Society, 1830-1930* reveals, William Jerdan had proposed in 1830 that the *Literary Gazette* might publish the Society's proceedings only to find the offer 'civily but firmly declined'. Mill, *The Record of the Royal Geographical Society*, 37.

⁷⁵ Proceedings Committee, Committee Minutes, 1872-1877, RGS/AP/MB, Royal Geographical Society, 75-76.

well illustrated geographical periodical in which the communications to the Society and general intelligence shall appear with the least possible delay'.⁷⁶ Thus, despite turning down this and Dempsey's previous offer, the Committee had on the face of it been convinced by the argument that the *Proceedings* as they currently stood were inadequate and that greater gains could be had from adopting a monthly publishing schedule as well as expanding the remit of the publication. It was not the end in a sense that the Committee had seemingly found inadvisable then, but rather the suggestion that *Ocean Highways* could be the means to that end. As it was, the Committee subsequently determined that no more money could be found to fund such an expansion of the current *Proceedings* and so the *status quo* was maintained for the time being, with Markham continuing his endeavours with *Ocean Highways* and the soon-to-be-rebranded *Geographical Magazine*.⁷⁷

The RGS and the Geographical Magazine

The intervening years saw *Ocean Highways* and then the *Geographical Magazine* gradually transformed into the kind of publication that Markham had envisaged in the early 1870s. Yet despite the Magazine's content being generally recognised as being of greater quality and having secured the regular support of 1200 subscribers, it was clear that the publication could not thrive on public support alone and so once more, the proprietors of the Magazine turned to the RGS for assistance. Trübner enquired as to whether it might fall within the remit of the Society and 'their operations for the advancement of Geographical Science, to subsidize the 'Geographical Magazine', in some form or other, and on such conditions as might be approved by the Society'.⁷⁸ However, the Library and Map Committee reported that they 'unanimously consider it inexpedient to subsidize any magazine not under the direct control of the Council' and the Council accordingly declined Trübner's proposal.⁷⁹ When one considers the reaction to the approaches made by both Dempsey and Trübner alongside internal proposals to reformulate the Society's own

⁷⁶ *Proceedings Committee, Committee Minutes, 1872-1877, RGS/AP/MB, Royal Geographical Society, 75-76*

⁷⁷ *Proceedings Committee, Committee Minutes, 1872-1877, RGS/AP/MB, Royal Geographical Society, 81.*

⁷⁸ Trübner and Co. to The President and Council of the Royal Geographical Society, [1878], *Correspondence, RGS/CB6/2218, Royal Geographical Society; Committee Minute Book, 1877-1883, RGS/AP/MB, Royal Geographical Society, 56.*

⁷⁹ H.W. Bates to Trübner & Co., June 25, 1878, *RGS/AP Out Letter Book, 1877-1879, 707-708.*

publications it becomes clear that the prospect of becoming involved with a commercial publication like *Ocean Highways* and the *Geographical Magazine* raised wider issues beyond the question of content and publishing schedule. On the 19th June, for example, the Library and Map Committee not only resolved to reject Trübner's request for a subsidy but also 'recommended that the Proceedings be improved by the insertion of additional notices, maps, and other matter, [...] at an estimated cost of £200 to £250 per annum', highlighting that they were not entirely opposed to seeing the *Proceedings* restructured.⁸⁰ However, the ensuing discussions surrounding the possible forms that the new publication might take reveal wider anxieties towards publishing for a larger audience at more frequent intervals. The first question to present itself in light of the decision to consider the reformulation of the Society's publications was how exactly a new series of Proceedings would relate to the *Geographical Magazine*. While the Assistant Secretaries were busy preparing various proposals outlining what form the new venture ought to take, Trübner and Co. contacted the Society requesting that the RGS purchase the copyright of the *Geographical Magazine* if they were intent on pressing ahead with restructuring the *Proceedings*. No doubt informed of the Society's plans by Markham, the publishers felt that they had a claim to compensation on account of the fact that the newly-envisaged publication would not only prompt Markham's resignation as editor (in order to avoid any conflict of interest) but also entice readers away from the *Geographical Magazine*. As Trübner explained further, 'The Magazine is quoted and is considered as an established geographical authority throughout Europe. It has gradually seated a taste for geography in a constituency of several hundred regular subscribers, and it is to be these advantages due entirely to the Magazine that it is now intended that the new series of the Proceedings shall succeed'.⁸¹ Of course Trübner failed to mention that public support for the *Magazine* had not been sufficient to make it commercially viable.

Although Markham claimed that he believed the publishers had no legal right to seek compensation – indeed he was careful to stress that the Society was considering whether to purchase the 'good-will and stock' of the Magazine rather

⁸⁰ Proceedings Committee, Committee Minute Book, 1877-1883, RGS/AP/MB Royal Geographical Society, 49.

⁸¹ Trübner and Co. to H.W. Bates, October 29, 1878, Correspondence RGS/CB6/2218, Royal Geographical Society.

than the legally-charged 'copyright' – there nevertheless was a moral claim to be answered.⁸² The Society's new *Proceedings* would not only target the *Magazine's* readers and thus threaten Trübner's profits but it would also prompt Markham to resign his post as editor – a loss which he eagerly assured everyone would be very great indeed. Markham also suggested that the contribution which the publishers had made to the advancement of geographical knowledge ought to be recognised.⁸³ Consequently he recommended that the Council 'sanction the purchase of the goodwill and stock of the 'Geographical Magazine' for the sum of £200'.⁸⁴ Of course, others might have argued that by producing a rival publication the Society were simply partaking in a bit of healthy competition. Certainly Douglas Freshfield's reaction to Trübner's request makes it clear that not everyone within the Society shared Markham's belief that they had a moral obligation to the publishers. As Freshfield put it, 'The suggested payment to the Publishers of the Geo Magazine does not seem to be desirable or justifiable on commercial grounds & is a benevolence I for one should feel unwilling to make such an offering to Publishers which any traveller or author had need'.⁸⁵ Freshfield felt that, if anything, it was the Society that was owed by the publishers rather than the other way around. Having 'had from the Society for nothing valuable time & services of one of its secretaries' Trübner and Co., he reasoned, 'ought to be ashamed to come to us for a gratuity'.⁸⁶ Nevertheless, Markham was successful in ensuring that an agreement was reached between the Society and the publisher with the matter being concluded in Trübner's favour.

The New Series of the *Proceedings of the Royal Geographical Society*

While the discontinuance of the *Geographical Magazine* brought to an end one version of the project to popularise geography, debate continued over the form, content, and publishing schedule of the new *Proceedings*. Robert Cust, an Orientalist scholar and prominent RGS Fellow, proposed 'that nothing less than a monthly issue

⁸² Council Minutes, 1877-1878, RGS/AP/MB, Royal Geographical Society, 78.

⁸³ Council Minutes, 1877-1878, RGS/AP/MB, Royal Geographical Society, 78.

⁸⁴ Council Minutes, 1877-1878, RGS/AP/MB, Royal Geographical Society, 78.

⁸⁵ D. Freshfield to H.W. Bates, November 2, 1878, Correspondence RGS/CB6/854, Royal Geographical Society.

⁸⁶ D. Freshfield to H.W. Bates, November 2, 1878, Correspondence RGS/CB6/854, Royal Geographical Society.

of the Proceedings will satisfy the requirements of Geographers interested in the Progress of discovery in every part of the globe', a sentiment echoed by Richard Major and Markham. However, others were more cautious. Freshfield, for instance, suggested that six bi-monthly numbers might satisfy the public and prove a more manageable task for the new editor. His concern stemmed from the fear that hasty publication might undermine the quality of content within the periodical. He was keen to remind others within the Society that the periodical must uphold the integrity of the Society and thus 'We should I think be careful not to attempt to function as a newspaper & aim always at accurate than at 'the latest' news'.⁸⁷ Thus while the ability to deliver topical content was one of the primary benefits of the monthly periodical, some doubted whether this schedule would allow enough time for information to be verified before it appeared in print. It was better to exercise caution and publish less regularly than risk printing inaccurate or inflammatory material for the sake of adhering to a regular schedule. It was not only the pace of publishing though that inspired the fear that the new publication would somehow threaten the integrity of the Society. The place of correspondence within the new periodical was something which was heavily debated. Whilst it had been an important part of the *Geographical Magazine* and had allowed readers to engage directly with those producing the wider content of the periodical, some within the Society were concerned about the implications of allowing 'controversial correspondence' in particular to grace the pages of one of their own publications as opposed to the pages of, say, the *Pall Mall Gazette* or the *Athenaeum*. Freshfield for instance, was typically cautious and suggested that a right to reply ought to be offered to any parties addressed by a particular letter prior to its publication so that all concerned could 'state their views & answer to objections once for all [rather] than go on hammer & tongs'.⁸⁸ Robert Cust was more wary still asserting that he 'would lay down the rule once [and] for all that there is no correspondence admitted'.⁸⁹

Similar caution was exhibited in relation to the inclusion of reviews of books and maps. The Secretaries proposed that the new periodical should offer an up-to-

⁸⁷ D. Freshfield to H.W. Bates, November 2, 1878, Correspondence RGS/CB6/854, Royal Geographical Society.

⁸⁸ D. Freshfield to H.W. Bates, November 2, 1878, Correspondence RGS/CB6/854, Royal Geographical Society.

⁸⁹ R.N. Cust to H.W. Bates, August 10, 1878, Correspondence RGS/CB6/592, Royal Geographical Society.

date record of the most important geographical works published 'with notices of the objects and contents of the more important' but all the while avoiding 'critical notices of books', 'for obvious reasons'.⁹⁰ Indeed as Cust noted, it was of paramount importance that any publication bearing the Society's name was not implicated in disputes of a personal nature. As he explained, 'the reviews contemplated, should not only be "not critical", but very cautiously worded, so as to give no reasonable offence, and not drag the Society into any countenances'.⁹¹ Freshfield though wished to draw a distinction between the process of reviewing maps and that of reviewing books. He contended that whereas book reviews almost always hinged in matters of opinion, in the case of maps, any criticism was likely to relate to 'matters of fact' and subsequently he argued that 'remarks on maps must be critical or nothing'.⁹² In the end, it was agreed that while the new proceedings would carry both correspondence and reviews, both would be subject to referee and submitted only following a series of checks had determined that their inclusion would not be likely to bring the Society into disrepute.⁹³ This debate provides further insights as to why the Society was reluctant to finance the *Geographical Review* and later, the *Geographical Magazine*. It was one thing to promote its content within its own periodicals, but it would have been quite another to have been held directly responsible for the contents – especially in the light of the Society's prior experience in controversies such as that surrounding Stanley (outlined above).

It was not only the intellectual content of the Magazine that sparked comment. Advertising was another source of concern. The 'hotel and general advertiser' contained within the early supplements of *Our Ocean Highways*, for example, provided details of hotels, steam ships sailings and products and services which might appeal to readers intent on following up the various tours outlined within the periodical's pages. The RGS position was that such advertisements would be inappropriate for the organ of a learned Society such as itself. Although the decision to restructure the *Proceedings* was viewed as a means of widening

⁹⁰ 'Proposals for the publication of a new series of the Royal Geographical Society', Committee Minute Book, 1877-1883, RGS/AP/MB, Royal Geographical Society, 68.

⁹¹ R.N. Cust to H.W. Bates, August 10, 1878, Correspondence RGS/CB6/592, Royal Geographical Society.

⁹² D. Freshfield to H.W. Bates, November 2, 1878, Correspondence RGS/CB6/854, Royal Geographical Society.

⁹³ 'Special Proceedings Committee', Committee Minute Book, 1877-1883, RGS/AP/MB, Royal Geographical Society, 67.

geography's appeal (and thus the Society's reach), the Council were keen to ensure that these efforts did not threaten its scientific credentials. However, while the Council resolved that 'for outside covers nothing be admitted except advertising of a literary and scientific character',⁹⁴ it soon became clear that the Society's wishes and commercial pressures of the publishing industry were not always compatible. As Edward Duffield Jones, the Society's clerk and accountant bemoaned, 'Purely scientific advertisements seem to be hardly obtainable, and publishers are wary of giving us general literary advertisements; consequently the back page is especially difficult to fill'.⁹⁵ Advertising was of course also one of the main sources of revenue for the publication though and so it was imperative that all available space was occupied. Thus, whilst the Society may have looked down upon the way that advertising had been used to flesh out the *Geographical Magazine*, they came to appreciate that publishing a periodical brought with it specific commercial pressures irrespective of the publication's content.

The intended audience was another source of debate. Whereas Freshfield identified that the proposals for reforming the *Proceedings* marked 'an attempt to make the Proceedings of a Society popular in form', R.W. Rawson was not convinced that the Society ought to be attempting to target a wider audience beyond the Society itself.⁹⁶ As he explained to Bates, 'I wish to keep the publication as essentially a record of our proceedings, to which we might add what we please of interest, without any responsibility to the public'. He was reluctant also to have the phrase "The Geographical Record," in the title too as the *Geographical Magazine* before it had, suggesting that the phrase would 'make us responsible to the public for inserting in it all that they think they will have a right to expect from us'.⁹⁷ Cust was also eager for the new publication to be an organ of the Society in the sense that it communicated their activities to the wider public with minimum feedback. However, others in the Society saw this as an opportunity to reach beyond the

⁹⁴ 'Special Proceedings Committee', Committee Minute Book, 1877-1883, RGS/AP/MB, Royal Geographical Society, 72.

⁹⁵ Edward Duffield Jones 'Memorandum' May 9, 1879, Correspondence, RGS/CB6/1274 Royal Geographical Society.

⁹⁶ D. Freshfield to H.W. Bates, November 2, 1878, Correspondence RGS/CB6/854, Royal Geographical Society; R.W. Rawson to H.W. Bates, July 27 [1878], Correspondence, RGS/CB/1870, Royal Geographical Society.

⁹⁷ Rawson W. Rawson to Henry W Bates, July 27, [1878], Correspondence RGS/CB/1870, Royal Geographical Society

Society. Certainly many were keen that the publication should secure all those readers that had previously taken the *Geographical Magazine* and more besides, with the Society resolving to produce not more than 5000 copies of each issue. Yet, as in the case of advertising, the Society soon found that that the commercial realities of the publishing industry were not always in keeping with their ideals. Edward Stanford, chosen to publish the new Proceedings, for instance, instructed the Society that 1000 copies per month was proving more than enough and suggested that 750 might be sufficient in future. To add insult to injury, he also requested that he 'be allowed to return a proportion of the large number of back numbers I have on hand'.⁹⁸ Thus although the Society had been reluctant to take on the role of partner with either Dempsey and the *Ocean Highways* or Trübner and the *Geographical Magazine*, they were now finding that the publication of a more popular periodical brought with it certain challenges that they had not necessarily envisaged.

Despite initial anxieties over both the shape and content of the new venture, it was widely acknowledged that the new publication was a marked improvement. Indeed the new Proceedings soon rendered the *Journal* redundant and it was discontinued in 1880. For Markham, the fact that the *Geographical Magazine* had given way to the new venture and was widely acknowledged as its precursor served to vindicate his work over the last six years.

* * *

Examining the production, circulation and reception of popular geographical periodicals sheds further light on the nature of geographical publishing in the mid-Victorian period. This chapter helps us to better understand how publishers, proprietors, editors and authors attempted to use this particular form of publishing as a means of promoting particular forms of geography in specific ways. The case of *Our Ocean Highways* and the *Geographical Magazine* highlights that popularising geography in the periodical press meant different things to different people. What was popular with publishers and editors would not necessarily be so with readers and while the periodical could be viewed as an opportunity to widen the public appeal of

⁹⁸ E. Stanford to E. Duffield Jones, August 7, 1880, Correspondence RGS/CB6/2071, Royal Geographical Society; E. Stanford to E. Duffield Jones, August 11, 1880, Correspondence RGS/CB6/2071, Royal Geographical Society.

geography, it was simultaneously understood as a potential threat to quality of geographical knowledge in circulation. Examining the specific characteristics of the periodical format helps to suggest why this was the case and also demonstrates that periodicals operated within, and relied upon, broader networks of print. Having explored the institutional response to one particular popular periodical project, for example, it is evident that there was not a clear division between institutionally-endorsed publication and 'popular' commercial periodical publishing at this time. This chapter suggests then, that further insights into the nature of geographical publishing and of geography itself can be gained by exploring the conditions surrounding the production, circulation and reception of geographical periodicals.

Figures

OUR OCEAN HIGHWAYS:

A CONDENSED

UNIVERSAL HAND GAZETTEER.

AND

INTERNATIONAL ROUTE BOOK,

BY OCEAN, ROAD, OR RAIL:

Being a complete Book of Reference and Guide for the Traveller to every known Port and chief City in the whole World,

AND CONTAINING EVERY INFORMATION RESPECTING COMMUNICATION BY SEA OR LAND, TELEGRAPH RATES, POSTAL ARRANGEMENTS, SITUATION, CLIMATE, POPULATION, GOVERNMENT, PRODUCTS, CONSUL, BANKS, LLOYD'S AGENT, AND OTHER RESIDENT OFFICIALS, HOTELS, MONETARY EXCHANGE, WRIGHTS AND MEASURES: ALSO ALL ENGLISH PARLIAMENTARY TOWNS, BOROUGHs, AND COUNTIES, WITH MEMBERS, ETC., ETC.:

With Tables showing all the British Local and Ocean Steam Routes, Dates of Sailing, Fares, &c.,

WITH THREE MAPS.

EDITED BY

J. MAURICE DEMPSEY & WILLIAM HUGHES, F.R.G.S.,

Author of "A Manual of Geography," &c.

LONDON:

EDWARD STANFORD, 6 & 7, CHARING CROSS.

1871.

Published Annually. All Rights Reserved.

6.1 J.M. Dempsey and W. Hughes (eds.) *Our Ocean Highways: A Condensed Universal Hand Gazetteer and International Route Book*, Second Edition (London: Edward Stanford, 1871)

A MONTHLY SUPPLEMENT

THE ANNUAL VOLUME

Recessione No. 6.

LONDON, SATURDAY, DECEMBER 5, 1970

Page 90

DUBLIN
The Shelbourne,
(J. Godnar).

Liverpool, 10th November, 1871.

Principal Agents for the work, 22, North Street, White
art, London, E.C.

En, l'ingénieur Agré pour les travaux, M. Pouché, 15, rue de la Harpe, Paris, 13.

Baird Inc.
1700 ...

2nd Year.—No. XVII.
Will be Published on the 5th August.

OUR OCEAN HIGHWAYS

MONTHLY SUPPLEMENT.

CONTENTS:

OUR LOG BOOK. YORKSHIRE WATERING PLACES.—No. 1. Scarborough.
No. 4.—BRIGHTON OUT OF SEASON.—“An Out on the Arun.”

OUR FOREIGN TOUR.—Florence. “EN ROUTE” FOR SPA.
OUR CORRESPONDENT “Antwerp.” “A Cruise in the Caribbean.”

OUR LIVERPOOL GOSSIP.
Stray Notes of a Short Tour from Hull to St. Petersburg.—Stockholm.
A Reminiscence of Swedenborg.—The Gulf of Finland.

OUR LITERARY SEA CHEST.

Printed and Published by Messrs. T. PETTIT & Co.,
23, FRIETH STREET, SOHO SQUARE, LONDON, W.,
and Sold by all Booksellers, and at all Railway
Book Stalls.

PRICE 3d.

© Bodleian Library, University of Oxford (2008). John Johnson Collection: Prospectuses of Journals 40 (41).
Copyright © 2008 Bodleian Library. All rights reserved.

6.3 Advertising *Our Ocean Highways Monthly Supplement*
Periodical Prospectus c.1872, John Johnson Collection: An Archive of Printed
Ephemera, Prospectuses of Journals 40 (41)

[REGISTERED FOR TRANSMISSION ABROAD.] Page 20.

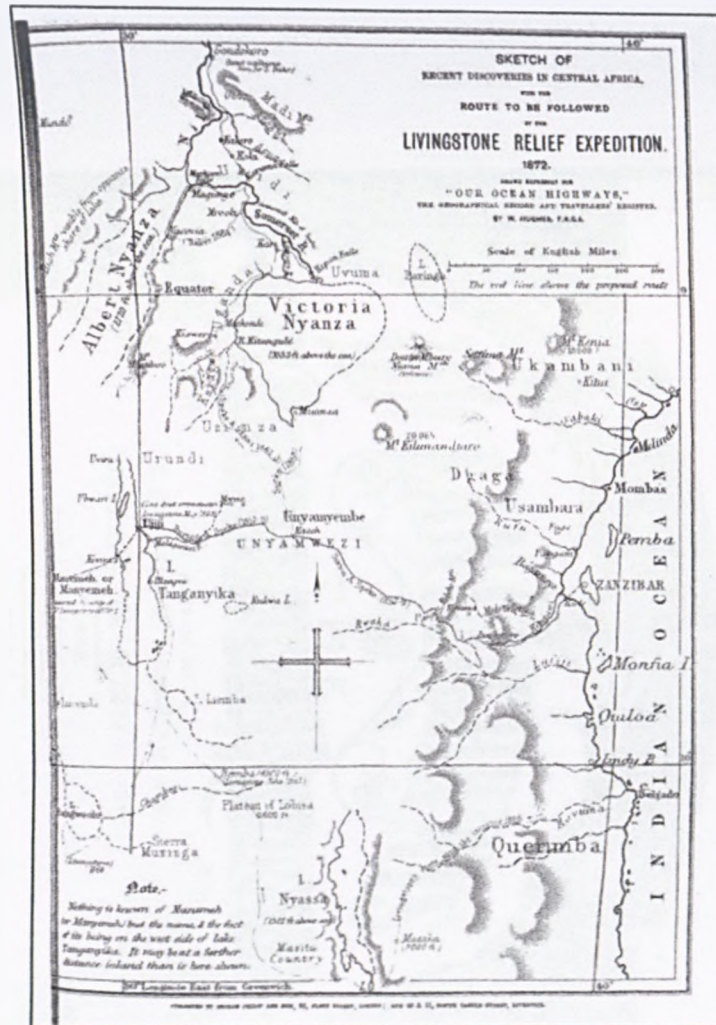
Orange Hotel,
E. Poppa, Manager.)

The Chairman, Sir Henry Rawlinson, communicated to the meeting the fact of Lieutenant Dawson, R.N., in command of the "Livingstone Relief Expedition," accompanied by Lieutenant Heils, R.N., and Sir David Livingstone, a son of the great traveller, having left England three days previously by the first steamer dispatched from the Thames to Vancouver, direct, through the Cape Canal. The subscriptions towards the expenses of the Expedition, asked from the

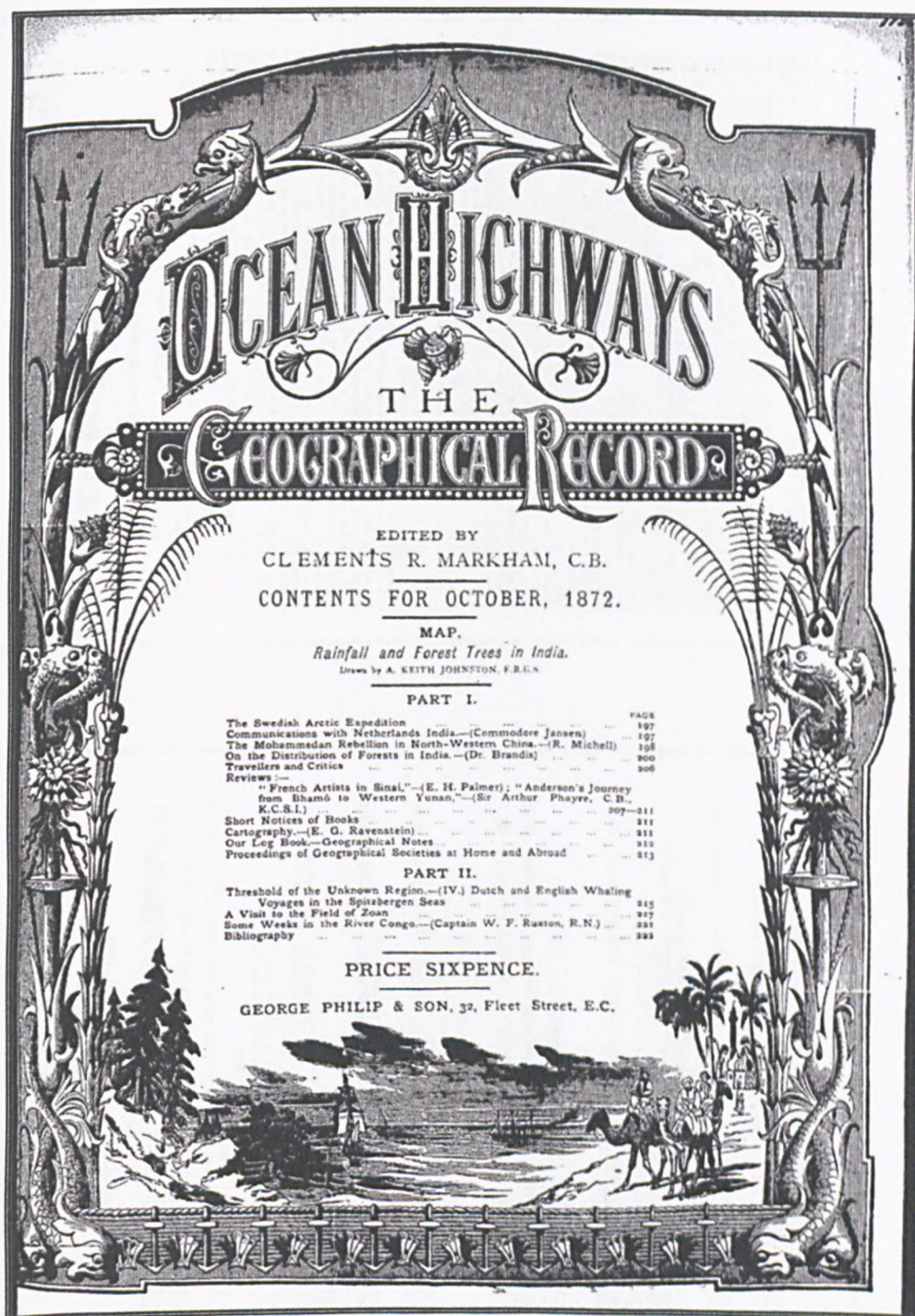
The letters themselves are dated—the first and greatly more lengthy of the two) from Jondokoro, or Ismailia, as it is in future to be called, in latitude 4° 45' N., under August 20, 1871—the second, October 10, from a place called Gubal Kopal, described as being four hundred miles farther to the southward. Advances of three days later date had, it was stated, been received from Sir Samuel, through our Consul General in Egypt, but nothing material was added to the contents of the prior communication.

T. LAWRENCE on SEA
The Granville Hotel
(the original advertisement)

296



6.5 The maps of William Hughes in *Our Ocean Highways Geographical Record and Travellers' Register* (1872)
Left: 'Baffin Bay', *Our Ocean Highways Geographical Record and Travellers' Register*, 2(2) (1872), 47,
Right: 'Livingstone Relief Expedition', *Our Ocean Highways Geographical Record and Travellers' Register*,
1 (24) (1872), 306



6.6 Ocean Highways: The Geographical Record

OCEAN HIGHWAYS.

THE GEOGRAPHICAL REVIEW.

EDITED BY CLEMENTS R. MARKHAM, C.B.

Price Two Shillings per Part.

NEW SERIES, No. 1. APRIL, 1873.

MAPS

- THE CASPIAN SEA, AND REGION TO THE EASTWARD. (E. G. RAVENSTEIN.)
THE COUNTRY BETWEEN KRASNOVODSK AND KHIVA, SHOWING THE ROUTE OF CAPTAIN SKOVELEF IN 1872. (E. G. RAVENSTEIN.)
CHART OF THE DISCOVERIES TO THE EAST OF SPITZBERGEN IN 1872. (Professor H. MOHN.)
THE COUNTRY TO THE EAST OF SMYRNA, SHOWING THE RAILWAYS TO AIDIN AND ALASHEHR. (C. E. AUSTIN, C.E.)

ARTICLES

- I.—THE CASPIAN, AND THE REGION TO THE EASTWARD.
II.—THE GREAT RIVERS OF CHINA. (Dr. F. PORTER SMITH.)
III.—RAILWAYS IN ASIA MINOR. (C. E. AUSTIN, C.E.)
IV.—THE BOTANICAL ORIGIN AND COUNTRY OF NYRRH. (D. HANBURY, F.R.S.)
V.—THE METEOROLOGICAL INSTITUTE OF CHRISTIANIA. (Professor H. MOHN.)
VI.—FORMOSA. (T. F. HUGHES.)
VII.—WICHE'S LAND RE-VISITED.

REVIEWS

- "BOKHARA." (Colonel YULE, C.B.) "THE ATMOSPHERE." "THE SECOND GERMAN NORTH POLAR EXPEDITION." (R. BROWN, F.R.S.E.)

CARTOGRAPHY. (E. G. RAVENSTEIN, F.R.G.S.)
BIBLIOGRAPHY. LOG BOOK.—GEOGRAPHICAL NOTES. CORRESPONDENCE.
PROCEEDINGS OF GEOGRAPHICAL SOCIETIES AT HOME AND ABROAD.

NEW SERIES, No. 2. MAY, 1873.

MAPS

- MAP OF MEXICO SHOWING THE VERA CRUZ AND MEXICO RAILWAY. (E. G. RAVENSTEIN.)
MAP SHOWING NEW RAILWAY LINE FROM ENGLAND TO CALCUTTA. (E. G. RAVENSTEIN.)
MAP SHOWING DISTRIBUTION OF INDIA-RUBBER.
MAP OF ASSAM AND THE NAGA HILLS.

ARTICLES

- I.—MEXICO. (MAURICE KIMBLEY.)
II.—RAILWAY COMMUNICATION BETWEEN LONDON AND CALCUTTA. (C. E. AUSTIN, C.E.)
III.—WHALE FISHERY IN BAFFIN'S BAY. (Dr. R. BROWN, F.L.S.)
IV.—NOTES ON MR. STANLEY'S BOOK. (Capt. R. F. BENTON.)
V.—THE STEPPES TO THE NORTH OF BOKHARA. (Professor A. VAMBRAY.)
VI.—NAGA HILLS. (Surveying Work of Major GODWIN-AUSTIN, 1871-72.)

REVIEWS

- "INDIA-RUBBER." "DEPTHS OF THE SEA." (Rear-Admiral SPRETT, C.B.)
"CHILIAN SURVEYS."

BIBLIOGRAPHY. CARTOGRAPHY. (E. G. RAVENSTEIN, F.R.G.S.)
LOG BOOK.—GEOGRAPHICAL NOTES.
PROCEEDINGS OF GEOGRAPHICAL SOCIETIES AT HOME AND ABROAD.

LONDON: TRÜBNER & Co., 47 and 49, LUDGATE HILL.

OCEAN HIGHWAYS:

The Geographical Review.

APRIL, 1873.

NEW SERIES.

No. 1, Vol. 1.

THE CASPIAN,

AND THE REGION TO THE EASTWARD.

It was held forty years ago, with perfect truth, that Herat was the "key to India." It is only by a route passing through Herat that any serious attempt can be made to approach India from the direction of Russia; and the occupation of the region immediately contiguous to that "key" involves the real Central Asian question. The settlement of the northern boundary of Afghan territory was a useful measure, but so serious a complication is likely to arise connected with the valley of the Upper Oxus during the present generation. It is the course of events in the region between the east coast of the Caspian and the Lower Oxus that requires very close attention.

This region is shown on the accompanying map. It is bounded on the north by the Ust-Urt, or higher desert, between the Caspian and Aral seas, on the east by the Oxus, on the west by the Caspian, and on the south by the hills of Khorezm in Persia. On the northern side of the hills bounding the Herat valley on the north, lies the Murgab River, which fertilizes the land round the ancient city of Merv, and is then lost in a swamp on the verge of the desert. The Herat, or river of Herat, drains the southern side of the hills, on the northern face of which the Murgab rises. It then turns along to the north, finding a way through the hills, and flows to Sarakhs, where it is lost. But the mountains of the Herat give fertility along the southern skirts of hills facing the desert, called the Daman-Kuh or Atak. The Herat river crosses from the Khorezm hills, among them just rising over Kaloudan, and supplying water to Merv, the most fertile city in Persia. Between the Daman-Kuh and the Khorezm hills, two rivers, the Atak and the Gurgan, flow through valleys of their own, in parallel courses, to the Caspian. The Persian city and province of Astrabad are at the south-east corner of the Caspian, the province being bounded on the north by the Gurgan or the Atak. North of the Daman-Kuh, the dreary wilderness called "Kara-Kum," or the Black Sands, stretches away to the east of Khiva, and the banks of the Oxus. This desert consists of a broken and regular surface of deep sand with a small growth of scrubwood, affording excellent fuel and the thorny herb which the camels love.

The importance of the southern half of this region will at once be seen, both as furnishing routes for commerce and supplies for an advancing army. There

are three such routes—by the southern skirts of the Daman-Kuh, where the nucleus from the Herat gives a line of wells and oases; by the valley of the Atak, or by the valley of the Gurgan—three high roads from the Caspian to Herat, whence there is an easy and well-known road to Kerdah. The region is inhabited by wandering and formidable Turkmen tribes, called Turkmens by the Persians, whose friendship, either in the form of neutrality or co-operation, is necessary for an advancing force.

It was not the Russians, but the English, whose enterprise first attempted to open trade-roads from the Caspian towards the east. Anthony Jenkins, Queen Elizabeth's envoy to Shah Tahmasp of Persia, was the first man who landed the Crown of St. George at the peak of his own ship on the Caspian sea. In 1557, he travelled through Russia to Bokhara, and returned by the Caspian and the Volga in 1560. He obtained a decree from the King of Shiraz, granting permission to the English to establish a factory there. In 1579, Christopher Burchough built a ship at Nishni Novgorod, and traded across the Caspian to Baku, but she was stranded by the ice, and the cargo of raw silk, being stored in a boat, was utterly landed at Astrakhan.

Peter the Great formed a naval armament at Astrakhan, marched in person to Derbent, and came with his army to occupy the Persian province of Gilan, but owing to the unhealthiness of the climate, it was evacuated by order of the Empress Anne in 1720. During the time that Persia was in a state of anarchy, and before the rise of Nadir Shah, some petty chiefs, with no authority or right to do so, are alleged to have ceded Gilan and Masandran to Peter. Hence the absurd notion has arisen that, even now, Astrakhan belongs to Russia by treaty. Even supposing the alleged cession ever to have had any validity, it would have been annulled by subsequent wars, and by the invasion of Gilan and Turanachai which put an end to them. In 1716, Peter the Great sent a force of 6000 men, in sixty-two vessels, under the command of Prince Bolkhovskoy, the Chikanskiy (Christianity), to take possession of a part of the east coast of the Caspian. The troops were landed in October, and they erected three forts—two named St. Peter and St. Paul; the third, named after Peter the Great, in the Bekharyn area or gulf; and a third on the Krasnaya spit, at the entrance of Balkan Bay. In the year following, 1717, a second body of troops, 3000 strong, was despatched from Astrakhan. They marched across the Steppes and the Ust-Urt plains, and in August they reached the Amu Darya and signally defeated the

6.7 Ocean Highways: The Geographical Review
Left: Trübner's Oriental and Literary Record June 1873, 97
Right: Ocean Highways: The Geographical Review

THE GEOGRAPHICAL MAGAZINE.

APRIL, 1874.

THE BASIN OF THE HELMUND.

THE basin of the Helmund, including all the streams which flow down into the great lake or swamp of Sistan, lies right across the line of advance from the north towards India. It forms the natural outwork and bulwark of our eastern empire, and it would, therefore, be difficult to over-estimate the importance of an accurate knowledge of its geographical features. Yet such knowledge as the seal of British officers has been the means of collecting, has, in several instances been strangely neglected, while a large part of the area in question is still entirely unknown.

The map, a portion of which we reproduce, was compiled from original materials, in 1845, by a distinguished officer who served in the Afghan campaign. It contains much material, which has never been published in full detail, and still remains in manuscript. It will be the object of the present article to give some account of the existing materials whence a knowledge can be obtained of the region comprised in the basin of the Helmund.

A glance at the map will show the leading features of the Helmund catchment basin. At the north-eastern corner is the confluence of the Hindu-Kush range, called the Koh-i-baba, whence extend eastward the two parallel mountain chains of the Safid Koh and Siakh Koh, enclosing the lateral valley of Herat. The Safid Koh is the Paropamisadae of the ancients. The distance between Herat and Kabul, which cities are nearly in the same latitude, is over 350 miles; and this space is occupied by lofty and rugged mountains, cut by deep rivers, containing the sources of the Helmund and its tributaries. Here dwell the wild Hazarehs and Esmaks, in a region covered with deep snow during the winter months, and affording pasture for cattle in the summer. There are records, preserved by Macartney, of Mahomed Shah and other Afghan princes having marched from Herat direct to Kabul. Edward Pottinger travelled from Herat to Kabul, but north of the Hazareh country, and his route is not laid down on our maps, and General Ferrier made an unsuccessful attempt to penetrate across the mountains. No modern traveller has ever thoroughly explored the Hazareh region. It consists of the lofty ridges and peaks of the Safid Koh, and of the long spurs which confine the rivers in their upper courses, and gradually slope down towards the deserts of Persia and Baluchistan. The river Helmund is the leading feature of the region comprising the basin which bears

its name as it divides it into two parts diagonally, and must be crossed by any force advancing from Herat to India. It is the only important river between the Tigris and the Indus. Rising in the Koh-i-baba, it flows in a south-westerly direction through the Hazareh country in a deep gorge for 250 miles, and then, emerging on the open country, it sweeps in a bold curve over the Garmul (*Garmul* of the map), in a course of another 100 miles, and empties its waters into the Sistan Lake. On the western side of the Helmund, the drainage of the region is effected by three important streams, all with independent courses to the Sistan Lake, the Afraskan (*Rand's Subsovere* of the map), Farrah road, and Khush road. On the east side the various rivers, the Turosh, Afghana, and Dori (*Dohay* of the map) unite with the Afghana, the principal tributary of the Helmund. The Helmund Basin is divided into two distinct regions: the mountainous gorges through which the rivers flow for at least half their course; and the plain upon which they finally emerge, which sinks in a succession of desert steppes, to the lowest depression at the Sistan Lake and its swamps. The mountainous region, with the exception of the routes taken by officers during the Afghan campaign, is entirely unknown. The three roads from Herat to Kandahar skirt the foot of the mountain spurs, and have frequently been traversed by European travellers; and others have passed over the plain country of Farrah, Sista, and the Garmul in various directions.

Our earliest definite knowledge of the Helmund Basin is derived from the mission of Mountstuart Elphinstone to Afghanistan in 1801. The surveyor of the Mission was Laurence John Macartney, who was indefatigable in collecting geographical information, with which he compiled a valuable map and an excellent memoir; but this promising officer died before the publication of the first edition of Mr. Elphinstone's work in 1815. A portion of Macartney's Memoir is printed in an appendix to his chief's book; and the whole manuscript, a precious storehouse of information, is preserved in the Geographical Department of the India Office. Macartney's map was for many years the best authority for the countries on the north-western frontier of India.

Captain Christie was the first English officer to cross the Helmund. He was one of that able staff which did such splendid service during Sir John Malcolm's second mission to Persia, accompanying Pottinger in his journey through Baluchistan in 1810. On March 2 and Christie parted company with Pot-

CONTENTS.

ARTICLES ARE INDICATED BY AN (*) ASTERISK.

EUROPE.

Maps.

Map of Great Britain, showing the Distribution of Roman Catholicism, and of R. C. Chapels, Convents, and Monasteries. By F. G. Ravenstein ... 104

Articles and Notes.

*Reverend (F. G.) Statistics of Roman Catholicism in Great Britain ... 103
On Surveys in Ireland, communicated by the Ordnance Department ... 266
Hall (Prof.) On the Progress of the Geological Survey of Ireland ... 269
Bodot (Dr. J.) On modern Ethnological Migrations in the British Isles ... 310
The Highest Mountain in Central Asia ... 344
A New Season for Rome ... 213
An Italian Landscape ... 187
A Dislocation between the Danube and Rhine ... 388
Exploration in Ireland by Members of the Alpine Club ... 120
The Nile Nuptial Fair of 1874 ... 394
Schuler (M. A.) The Fisheries and Seal Hunting in the White Sea and Northern Ocean ... 311
Goretz, Exploration of Macedonia, Thessaly and Epirus (1870-2) ... 48
Cora's Proposed Journey in Turkey ... 253
Mauouit. Progress of French Surveys ... 268

Reviews of Books.

Nugles, Geography of British India ... 203
Tombert, Handbook for Travellers in Norway ... 215
Rasmussen, Revue, and Stat. and andere waeschen. Mittheilungen über Russland ... 246

Cartography.

The Ordnance Survey in 1873 ... 148
Sassmann's Hypographical Map of the Alps ... 169
Alpine Club Map of Switzerland ... 249
Wintmann's Atlas of Swiss Industry and Commerce ... 205
Edwards's Wall Map of France ... 202
Maps of Norway ... 118

ASIA.

Maps.

Map of a portion of Afghanistan, by Colonel Fraser ... 1
Tyler ... 1
Map showing the position of Herat Island, by A. W. Stille, with Marginal Map of the North end of Ormuz, and a Bird's eye view of Herat from Stanley's collection, and a view of the Portuguese fort ... 12
Sketch Map of the Russian Province of Amu Darya ... 120
Sketch Map showing Pottinger's route to the site of Kandahar, by Colonel H. Vele ... 137
Sketch Map of China from Padre Martini's Atlas Sinensis (1855), and Joseph Johnson's Bound Atlas (1866) ... 142
Diagram of the Middle Kingdom ... 142
Map of the Frontier Districts of Kachgar and Kuma, by E. G. Ravenstein ... 204

Map of a portion of Persia and Turkistan, showing the routes of Colonel V. Baker and Lieutenant Gill ... 272
Map of Formosa, by E. G. Ravenstein ... 302
Hypographical Sketch Map of Southern India (with Rain Map in margin), by E. G. Ravenstein ... 329
Map of the Upper Pripyet, illustrating a paper by Clement R. Markham ... 333

Articles, Notes.

*Vesichko's Experimental Military Survey of the Russian Confiner of Asia, by R. Mitchell ... 27, 70, 120, 161
Chetkovsky and Müller's Expedition to the Tugmaka ... 215
Trade of Northern Coast of Russia ... 387
RUSSIAN TURKISTAN.
The Organization of Russian Turkistan ... 120
*Feldchenko (A.) Geographical Notes on the Basins of the Ona and the Zerdziles (communicated by Colonel H. Vele) ... 46
Exploration of the Old East of the Cross, in 1873 ... 26
Dike (Aulton W.) On Central Asia ... 34
Lensep (P. de), Central Asia Railway ... 217
Bernadski. Scheme of a Central Asian Railway ... 44
Dike (A. W.) On the Valley of the Il and the Water-system of Russian Turkistan ... 84
Yule (Col.) On Ashton Dike's Paper ... 123
KATVA.
Official History of the Khiva Campaign ... 121
MacGibbon (J. A.) On the Russian Campaign to Khiva ... 266
Stewart (Lieut.) The Khiva Expedition ... 88
Soliman (Capt.) Astronomical Observations during the Khiva Campaign ... 353
*Mogin (Djemal), The Russian Province of Amu Darya ... 15
Levelling between the Aral and Caspian Seas ... 262
AMU DARYA (CHIVA).
Progress of the Amu Darya Expedition ... 120
The Amu Darya Expedition (Departure from St. Petersburg) ... 121
*The Ona Expedition (from Major Herbert Wood) and Colonel Stolietov's Reports ... 313
WESTERN TURKISTAN.
Sakayev's Journey to Khokand in 1873 ... 473
Admiral in Khokand ... 34
The Inscription in Khokand ... 252
*Khanikof's Identification of the names in Clavius's Journey to Samarkand ... 361
Yule (Col.) Khanikof's Identification of Names in Clavius ... 369
EASTERN TURKISTAN.
*Michell (Robert) Dostyuk (Eastern Turkistan), its Sovereign and its Surroundings ... 194
*The Kashgar Mission (February 26th November, 1873) to 2nd February, 1874 ... 19
*The Kashgar Mission (February 26th November, 1873) to 2nd February, 1874 ... 19
Martins, Exploration of the Fannir ... 129
Edinburgh (Col.) The Kashgar Mission, 1874 ... 266, 268
Geographical Results of the Kashgar Mission (Transit) ... 171
Erdmann (Sir Henry). The Kashgar Mission ... 171
Tromy with the Aid of Kashgar ... 171
*The Uralian Trade (from the Report of the Committee) ... 314
MONGOLIA.
*Prohaska's Travels in Mongolia, 1871-2 ... 5
Prohaska's Itinerary and proposed Expedition of Central Asia ... 44

6.8 The Geographical Magazine

Left: April 1874 issue. Right: Contents for Volume I (1874)

Conclusion

Inspired by recent work in the history and geography of science exploring the connections between print and the production and mobilization of knowledge, this thesis has sought to examine the influence of publishers and the wider publishing industry in shaping geographical understandings at a time when the print trades were expanding rapidly to accommodate new markets for printed materials. The research which provides the basis for the thesis started from the premise that print was fundamental to the process of constructing, circulating and debating the significance of geographical ‘discoveries’ in mid-Victorian Britain. While geographers have long engaged with nineteenth-century texts, they have tended to focus on their content without paying sufficient attention to the conditions surrounding their production, circulation and reception.¹ In this thesis, I have sought to make this case for a wider range of publishing projects in the field of travel and exploration, focusing on a relatively well-defined period (1855-1878).

Having outlined the contours of geographical publishing in this period, I suggest that there is a strong case for using works of travel and exploration as a more specific route into this large and diverse publishing field (Chapter 2). As Withers and Keighren have recently observed in their study of Murray travel narratives, where geographers have sought to combine insights from the history and geography of science and book history in order to re-evaluate geographical texts, they have primarily focused on either production or reception.² This thesis approaches travel and exploration publishing from a perspective which seeks to consider production, circulation and reception simultaneously (as explained in Chapter 1). Drawing on a wide range of archival and published sources, I have explored the conditions surrounding the production, circulation and reception of four exemplar publishing projects (in Chapters 3-6). The selection of these projects, as outlined in Chapter 2, allowed close investigation of various contexts and formats of travel publishing, as well as the challenges and opportunities they offered publishers, authors and readers.

I have also sought to highlight the nature of authorship and the ways that authority was constructed and contested in and beyond ‘authorised’ volumes. The relationship between avowedly commercial publishing projects and institutionally-

¹ This is an argument which Withers and Keighren have also made in a recently published paper examining the publication of travel narratives in the period c.1815-c.1857. C.W.J. Withers and I.M. Keighren, ‘Travels into print: authoring, editing and narratives of travel, c.1815-c. 1857’, *Transactions of the Institute of British Geographers*, 36 (2011), 560-573.

² Withers and Keighren, ‘Travels into print’, 562.

sanctioned ventures has been an important theme. In posing questions about the wider circulation and reception of these four publishing projects, I have scrutinised networks of people and print in order to better understand the marketplaces these texts circulated within, the variety of material forms they occupied and the audiences they attempted to speak to. In exploring different forms of reception, I have also sought to provide new insights into ways of considering responses to these texts and the extent to which decisions made during the production process can be shown to produce tangible impacts beyond the publishing house. In so doing, this thesis has extended our knowledge of these four publishing projects significantly, while also suggesting a rationale for re-evaluating the connections between print, publishing and geographical knowledge more widely in mid-Victorian Britain and beyond.

In this final chapter, I draw out the main arguments made in this thesis, moving beyond the case-specific conclusions offered in each chapter to explore a number of themes which cut across the four publishing projects considered in Chapters 3-6 (Section 7.1). I also discuss the wider theoretical and methodological implications of my research, exploring how we can approach the history and geography of the book and the history of geography in the light of the findings presented here (Section 7.2). Finally, I bring the thesis to a close by signalling possible future directions for research on geographical publishing and print culture (Section 7.3).

7.1 Mid-Victorian Travel Publishing: Themes

This thesis offers a snapshot of travel and exploration publishing at a particular moment in British history. Chapter 1 noted that the print trades underwent significant changes during the nineteenth century and suggested that the market expanded significantly after the middle decades of the century as publishers attempted to cater for new readerships. It also highlighted that do we not yet fully understand how changes in modes of production, circulation and reception shaped the production of various forms of knowledge at this time. Chapter 2 demonstrated that this was certainly true in the context of travel and exploration publishing specifically and geographical publishing more widely. This thesis therefore marks a step towards addressing this issue. It has shown, as stated above, that publishers and other technicians of print shaped the ways that geographical knowledge was produced,

circulated and received in print, although not always in uniform or expected ways, and certainly not without some resistance.

The four publishing projects considered in this thesis spanned the period 1855-1878 and although the analysis has not been strictly confined within these dates (Chapter 2 addresses the significance of print from the formation of the RGS in 1830, for example), this tight concentration upon the middle-decades of the Victorian period is crucial to allowing the thesis to make a contribution beyond the individual case studies. Although the four publishing projects considered in this thesis were distinct ventures, occupying different physical formats with specific aims in mind, they also overlapped and intersected in important ways emphasising the wider networks of people and print which were crucial to the production of travel and exploration publishing in this period. This is significant, for it allows us to draw wider conclusions about the nature of travel and exploration publishing in this period.

The Wider Victorian Publishing World

Chapter 2 began by identifying the contours of a field we might broadly identify as mid-Victorian geographical publishing. Subsequent chapters have offered detailed analyses of four particular publishing projects as a means of providing further insights into the nature of travel and exploration print culture, as a particular sub-set of geographical publishing. As a prelude to offering critical reflections on the themes which emerge within these case studies, this section considers geographical publishing in relation to the wider publishing world, noting the significance of the educational market in particular. This section also considers questions of audience, genre, price and availability in general and as they relate to the works which have been the subject of the preceding chapters as a means of further situating the case studies which form the core of this thesis.

Educational Markets

Educational markets were increasingly significant for many publishers in this period. In the context of textbook publishing, from the mid-1830s, Longman were at the forefront of the developing trade. Whereas as school teachers had traditionally authored their own textbooks, with the extension of fee-paying education and then state funding came the expectation of standardisation in teaching. From a publisher's

perspective textbooks were a reliable source of income as demand was perennial. However, profits were not necessarily large (between 1836 and 1876, 80 per cent of geography textbooks retailed at 1d-6d) and as Weedon reminds us, 'Publishers had to work in a market circumscribed by external factors such as curriculum revision, school budgets, racial and religious agendas and political determinants'.³ Robert Lowe's Revised Code of 1862, for example, extended state education and promoted rote learning which in turn encouraged publishers to produce particular kinds of textbooks. Oxford University Press, Meiklejohn & Son, Thomas Nelson & Son and J.M. Dent were prominent among those that sought to take advantage of this opportunity throughout the 1860s. The Education Act of 1870 would bring a significant number of new publishers into the educational market as school attendance gradually became widespread for the first time.

The universities were also as an increasingly important market for educational works. As Feather explains, 'Modern history, languages and literature and, above all, the sciences, became an established part of English higher education for the first time' during the middle decades of the nineteenth century.⁴ Longmans, Macmillan and Co. and Oxford and Cambridge University Presses were dominant among those that determined to supply the new demand for appropriate textbooks. (Macmillan and Co.'s close connection to Cambridge University was explored in Chapter 5). An extensive market also developed for scholarly journals at the same time, giving rise to well-known titles such as *Nature*.

However, throughout the middle decades of the Victorian period a much larger educational market extended beyond the publication of works designed to aid formal learning. Commercial publishers, philanthropists and religious societies targeted their own particular brand of inexpensive 'improving literature' at the working-classes, continuing the trend which had begun in earlier decades with Charles Knight and the Society for the Diffusion of Useful Knowledge. Educational works occupied many forms (books, book series, periodicals, and pamphlets) and were available at a range of price increments ensuring that both the middle- and working-classes were catered for. Literary journalism was also considered to be a relatively secure profession by the 1860s giving rise to a band of professional

³ A. Weedon, *Victorian Publishing: The Economics of Book Production for a Mass Market, 1836-1916* (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2003), 134, 112.

⁴ J. Feather, *A History of British Publishing* (London: Routledge, 2006), 117.

popularizers who made a living from articulating a wide range of subjects including art, literature, history and travel in language suitable for particular groups of the middle- and working-classes.⁵ Although the names of these popularizers are often forgotten today, they could reach vast audiences (Cassell's *Popular Educator*, for example, sold 100,000 copies between 1853 and 1885). In the case of popularizers of science (the group which has received most scholarly attention to date) writers performed an important function, attempting to articulate scientific debates in ways which upheld the religious or secular orthodoxies held by their readers.⁶

Audience

The size and range of reading communities which mid-Victorian publishers aimed to cater for increased significantly during the period. Improving literacy rates, better standards of living, the repeal of the so-called 'taxes on knowledge', a commitment to self-improvement and several technological advances ensured that print could be produced and consumed on a mass scale simultaneously. The middle-class consisting of individuals with a degree of education and some disposable income was a particularly sought-after market. However, publishers did not simply target an amorphous 'general public': with falling production and distribution costs publishers were able to target ever more specific sectors of the populace particularly, though not exclusively, through relatively inexpensive periodical literature. Children, for example, were a significant new audience in the period as inexpensive fictional tales which promoted Christian faith and later secular adventure stories became particularly popular.

The widespread demand for literature among all classes though helps to explain why works like *Missionary Travels* were so heavily pirated. Less scrupulous publishers identified that Livingstone's narrative would be of interest to many readers who could not afford Murray's expensive edition nor understand Livingstone's scientific content and so prepared alternative versions and marketed them accordingly (as Chapter 3 explained). The desire to create a new market lay behind Macmillan's decision to fashion what he saw as a composite form with *Vacation Tourists*.

⁵ B. Lightman, *Victorian Popularizers of Science: Designing Nature for New Audiences* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2007)

⁶ Lightman, *Victorian Popularizers of Science*, 34; A. Fyfe *Science and Salvation: Evangelical Popular Science Publishing in Victorian Britain* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2004).

Price and Availability

Although periodical publishing was characterised by more of an entrepreneurial spirit, book publishing remained more conservative in the mid-Victorian period. Production tended to be seasonal, concentrated around spring and after the 1840s and 1850s particularly around Christmas. The books discussed in this thesis followed this logic, although in the case of *Vacation Tourists* the fact that both travel and the book trade were seasonal proved something of a challenge as Chapter 5 illustrated.

Print runs were typically small (between 500 and 1000 copies) in order to minimise risk, limiting the potential for waste or the need for expensive storage space. Even in the case of *Missionary Travels* which would enjoy remarkable sales (see below) Murray followed this principal, only binding printed copies when orders were certain. Mediating risk in this way also helped to keep costs low for buyers. As Eliot's work on pricing structures demonstrates, the cost of books decreased over the course of the century in response to the falling cost of production and distribution. He identifies three categories of books based on different price bands as follows: 1) the low price group (1d-3s6d); 2) the mid-price group (3s7d-10s); and 3) the high price group (10s1d and above).⁷ The fact that the average annual income was £27 helps to place these figures in greater context.⁸

Of the books considered in this thesis, the 1857 edition of *Missionary Travels*, with a retail price of 1 guinea, and *Vacation Tourists and Notes of Travel*, with a retail price of 14 shillings per volume, were clearly in the 'high price' category. This is in keeping with the kinds of books their respective publishers were known for publishing, always aiming at the 'respectable' end of the book market. The 1855 edition of *The Art of Travel* falls within the middle-range category at 6 shillings revealing something about both the relative production costs of these works and the differing market for an instructional text.

Retail prices then reveal something about production costs and also point towards the projected audience for a work, revealing which class of readers would have been in a position to purchase such a book. However, book lending (as opposed to selling) was also a significant aspect of the Victorian book trade. While high

⁷ S. Eliot, *Some Patterns and Trends in British Publishing, 1800-1919*, (London: Bibliographical Society, 1998), 60.

⁸ C. Pettitt, *Dr Livingstone, I Presume? Missionaries, Journalists, Explorers & Empire* (London: Profile, 2007), 32.

prices might discourage book buyers they would have less of an impact upon those inclined to borrow books. Public libraries expanded after the 1850 Ewart Act, and by that same year there were already 610 Mechanics Institute Libraries. Edward Mudie's circulating library was the most prominent of the subscription libraries allowing readers to borrow titles for a relatively small annual fee (typically a guinea). Mudie's purchasing power was such that he could determine whether a work proved profitable or not (he purchased £40,000 of stock per annum throughout the 1860s). Each of the books examined in Chapters 3-5 was both purchased and advertised by Mudie, although it is difficult to ascertain exact figures for the number of copies he ordered in these cases.

With regards to sales figures, as Lightman notes, it is useful to distinguish between 'steady sellers' which continue to sell copies for years and even decades after they are first published and 'bestsellers' which sell significant numbers in a short period of time. Lightman offers the following benchmarks as a means of differentiating between levels of success:

Books that had a print run of up to 10,000 copies [within ten years of initial publication], I would place in the category of moderately successful; those with print runs between 10,000 and 20,000 can be described as being very successful; and those above 20,000 can be referred to as being extraordinarily successful.⁹

These categories also help to distinguish between works which have become well known in the popular imagination today and those which were actually widely read in the years immediately following their publication. To borrow Lightman's example, while Darwin's *Origin of the Species* might be considered as moderately successful in this schema, Chambers' *Vestiges of the Natural History of Creation* is a clear 'best-seller' despite its relatively lowly place in the present day imagination.

These figures allow us then to look once more at the available sales figures for the books discussed in previous chapters and to place them in the context of book sales more generally. Beginning with *Missionary Travels*, initial sales amounted to 12,000 and had reached 30,000 by 1863 despite a cover price of a guinea suggesting that it is correct to regard it as a 'best-seller'. *The Art of Travel* was published in five editions between 1855 and 1872, with 7000 copies being printed in total (in batches of 1000-1500 as was common) during this period. Sales continued long after 1872 so

⁹ Lightman, *Victorian Popularizers of Science*, 33.

while we might categorise the manual as 'moderately successful' in the immediate aftermath of publication it clearly constituted a 'steady seller' in relation to the wider trade over a longer period. *Vacation Tourists* fared least well of the three book publishing ventures considered in the series with neither volume requiring an additional print run. For this reason it might be considered as 'moderately successful' compared to other books of the period.

With regards to periodical publishing, comment can also be made about the wider market conditions, helping to further contextualise my study of *Our Ocean Highways* and the *Geographical Magazine*. Although it is difficult to locate circulation figures for comparable geographical periodicals we might consider that *Nature*, established in 1869, managed to achieve a circulation of 5,000 in 1870 with a price of 4d.¹⁰ The *Geographical Magazine*, by contrast struggled to exceed 1200 subscribers in the period 1874-1878 at a cost of between 1 and 2 shillings per issue. At this price the *Geographical Magazine* might also be viewed alongside the general interest shilling monthlies which proliferated in the period and which also carried varying amounts of material connected to travel and exploration. However, the circulation of the monthlies aimed at middle-class readers could vary dramatically: the *Cornhill Magazine* had a circulation of 40,000 in 1864 while *Macmillan's Magazine* had a circulation of around 8,000 in 1870.¹¹ The state of geographical periodical publishing requires further research before we can say with any certainty whether the *Geographical Magazine* was either typical or atypical but certainly the growth in the periodical market more generally in this period certainly indicates that readers of all classes had increasing choice in this period.

Genre

The mid-Victorian fascination with self-improvement ensured that there was a strong market for non-fictional genres as well as imaginative writing. Many publishers specialised in a limited number of genres, developing a reputation for particular subjects as well as well particular styles of books (as discussed in relation to John Murray in Chapter 3 and Macmillan and Co. in Chapter 4). Travel publishing was a significant genre for several publishers. Some like Murray and Blackwoods were

¹⁰ A. Ellegard, 'The readership of the periodical press in Mid-Victorian Britain II. Directory', *Victorian Periodicals Newsletter* 13 (1971), 16.

¹¹ Ellegard, 'The readership of the periodical press in Mid-Victorian Britain II', 18.

strongly associated with finer examples of the genre whilst others used travel writing as a periodical filler or as a reliable staple, perhaps in the same way as textbooks. Travel writing, particularly when it concerned foreign locations excited the imagination and improved the intellect and thus appealed to many different readerships. Indeed the boundaries of travel writing as a genre were regularly difficult to define, as the four cases explored thus far illustrate, ensuring that works like *Missionary Travels* could be understood simultaneously as missionary text, scientific and geographic treatise, and adventure narrative according to the particular interests of the reader concerned. Similarly, *The Art of Travel* was variously a soldier's handbook, a traveller's manual, a tourist's guidebook and a story of adventurous travel depending on where it was reviewed. Macmillan saw *Vacation Tourists* as a new composite genre but there were clear precedents both in literary circles and in periodical publishing. This thesis demonstrates that while narrative accounts of travel became the dominant form of travel writing at the end of the eighteenth century they were only one among many forms in circulation in the mid-Victorian period.

Publishing as a Collaborative and Creative Process

This thesis extends and refines recent research suggesting that the publication of nineteenth-century accounts of travel was routinely a collaborative and creative process as publishers and editors worked alongside authors to turn field notes and manuscripts into publishable accounts.¹² Chapter 3 considered the preparation of David Livingstone's *Missionary Travels*, discussing how publisher John Murray and his employees intervened to ensure that the explorer's manuscript would be accessible and appealing to particular groups of readers and highlighted that such interventions shaped both the narrative and several supporting paratextual devices. However, this chapter also emphasised that collaboration was not always straightforward or harmonious. Drawing on author-publisher correspondence, proofs

¹² See, for example, Withers and Keighren, 'Travels into print', 560-573; M.N. Bourguet, 'A portable world: the notebooks of European travellers (eighteenth to nineteenth centuries)', *Intellectual History Review* 20 (2010), 377-400; D. Finkelstein, 'Africa rewritten: the case of John Hanning Speke' in D. Finkelstein, *The House of Blackwood: Author Publisher Relations in the Victoria Era* (Pennsylvania, Pennsylvania University Press, 2002), 49-69; R. Bridges, 'Explorers' texts and the problem of reactions by non-literate peoples: some nineteenth-century East African examples, *Studies in Travel Writing* 2 (1998), 65-84; I.S. MacLaren, 'Exploration, 'Exploration/travel literature and evolution of the author', *International Journal of Canadian Studies* 5 (1992), 39-68; I.S. MacLaren, 'From exploration to publication: the evolution of a 19th-century Arctic narrative', *Arctic* 47 (1994), 43-53;

and published copies of *Missionary Travels*, I demonstrated Livingstone was at times happy to alter his text in accordance with the wishes of Murray and his editorial assistants, on other occasions he strongly resisted the changes they proposed. *Missionary Travels* was therefore produced through negotiation and compromise as publisher and author sought to strike a balance between producing a commercially viable narrative and one which the explorer could support as an accurate representation of his travels. Certainly Livingstone became increasingly anxious about the extent of influence that others were having upon his narrative. His protests at the 'liberties' taken with his text reveal, I think, that he recognised the creative nature and productive potential of the editorial process. Murray and his staff were not simply rephrasing sentences, replacing and removing words, altering images: they were potentially creating new meanings. This clearly problematises assumptions about the nature of authorship, showing that publishers and editors also exerted a creative force over author's texts. This understanding of the collaborative nature of publication renders narrative accounts of travel and exploration problematic as first-hand accounts of the 'facts as they happened' and encourages us to consider how and why the form and content of such publications was shaped with publication in mind.¹³

By examining a range of publishing formats and contexts, I have demonstrated that collaboration was not confined to the production of individually-authored narrative accounts of travel (which have dominated recent research). In Chapter 4, for example, I discussed the relationship between John Murray's guidebook series and Francis Galton's various publications offering advice to travellers and tourists. The examination of *Vacation Tourists and Notes of Travel* offered in Chapter 5 also pointed to the collaborative nature of serial publication. That a multi-authored book series should be highly collaborative is perhaps not surprising but what is especially notable is the nature of that collaboration. Alexander Macmillan and Francis Galton refined the remit of the series together, shared the task of gathering and corresponding with contributors and edited individual papers collectively, ensuring that there was not a clear division of labour between publisher and editor. Again, collaboration was shown to be difficult at times with Macmillan and Galton often disagreeing over submissions to the series. That

¹³ Withers and Keighren, 'Travels into print', 569.

the roles of publishers, editors and authors were not mutually exclusive was also evident in the form and content of the various incarnations of *Our Ocean Highways* and the *Geographical Magazine* presented in Chapter 6. Markham, for example, edited the *Geographical Magazine* whilst also contributing numerous articles while Ravenstein was both cartographic editor and proprietor for a time. This thesis reminds us then that in the context of various forms of travel publishing, the categories of 'publisher', 'editor' and 'author' were rarely fixed.¹⁴

The nature of collaboration varied between publication projects. Chapters 3 and 4, for example, considered cases where 'collaboration' was far from consensual. The former highlighted that several editions of Livingstone's narrative were produced through what we might euphemistically call indirect collaboration where publishers and authors gathered together the explorer's published letters and used them as the basis for their own accounts. Following the publication of the authorised volume, reprints and abridgements also appeared, repackaging textual and illustrative materials prepared by Livingstone and his collaborators for new audiences, regularly without the permission of either author or publisher. Chapter 4 meanwhile discussed the preparation of particular editions of Francis Galton's *The Art of Travel*, focusing less on the influence of John Murray and more on the extent to which Galton utilised the published and unpublished experiences of other travellers. Whilst it is not surprising to find that Galton supplemented his own experiences of travel with information from other sources, it is noteworthy that he often did so without acknowledging these sources: individual contributors were rarely named in the text and Galton was presented as the sole author of the work. Collaboration in this sense was not necessarily consensual and it is not surprising to find that Galton was accused of plagiarism on at least one occasion.

Collaboration, then, routinely marked published works of travel and exploration but it took a variety of forms. Moreover, as argued throughout this thesis, if we are to properly understand the mediating influence of publishers and other 'technicians of print', it is necessary to consider how these texts operated beyond the publishing house. This means investigating how they were positioned in

¹⁴ Withers and Keighren also draw this conclusion from their own research on the travel and exploration narratives published by John Murray in the period c. 1815-c. 1857: C.W.J. Withers and I.M. Keighren, 'Travels into print', 560-573.

particular ways both at the level of the published texts themselves and through a wider network of print; and it also requires us to be attentive to the reception of these texts so that we might judge the extent to which particular readers and reviewers responded as publishers, editors and authors hoped.

'Authorship' and Authority

This thesis provides insights into the implications of collaborative authorship by showing how publishers, editors and authors sought to construct (and contest) authority in print. It is routinely suggested that authorship and authority were closely related, with the credibility of travel narratives hinging on their status as first-hand accounts of direct experience of travel (as stated in Chapter 2). Yet this association could be undermined by the interventions of publishers and editors without such experience.¹⁵ Publishers, editors and authors adopted a variety of different strategies in order to demonstrate the authority of their texts. For Livingstone, the authority of *Missionary Travels* was very much connected to the fact that he alone had first-hand experience of the people and places he discussed in his narrative. He and Murray argued that this was the case whenever possible. The published narrative itself claimed that the explorer alone was responsible for its content and suggested that the unvarnished nature of the text proved that this was the case – a familiar tactic in many nineteenth-century travel narratives.

This thesis demonstrates, however, that authors did not always articulate the value of their texts in relation to first-hand experience of travel. Rival editions of *Missionary Travels* discussed in Chapter 3 (and above), for example, appealed to a different set of criteria. Some authors claimed that Livingstone had kept the public waiting too long, and therefore it was their duty to pass on whatever information they had at their disposal while others argued that the Murray edition would be inaccessible to the wider reading public, either because of its content or cost and so offered shorter, cheaper editions designed for particular sections of the working class

¹⁵ J. Cavell, *Tracing the Connected Narrative: Arctic Exploration in British Print Culture, 1818-1860* (Toronto and London: University of Toronto Press, 2008), 18-19; D. Finkelstein, 'Africa rewritten: the case of John Hanning Speke' in D. Finkelstein, *The House of Blackwood: Author Publisher Relations in the Victoria Era* (Pennsylvania, Pennsylvania University Press, 2002), 49-69; R. Bridges, 'Explorers' texts and the problem of reactions by non-literate peoples: some nineteenth-century East African examples', *Studies in Travel Writing* 2 (1998), 65-84; I.S. MacLaren, 'Exploration, 'Exploration/travel literature and evolution of the author', *International Journal of Canadian Studies* 5 (1992), 39-68; I.S. MacLaren, 'From exploration to publication: the evolution of a 19th-century Arctic narrative', *Arctic* 47 (1994), 43-53; Withers and Keighren, 'Travels into print', 560-573.

or children, for instance. The value of these volumes, their producers argued, stemmed from their accessibility, not any direct association with Livingstone or the events described in their narratives. In the case of *The Art of Travel* (Chapter 4) Galton admitted that the text was not solely derived from his own experiences of travel. Instead the value of his manual was based upon the fact that his research had enabled him to bring together hints and suggestions applicable to a wide range of travel contexts, something which few other 'popular' instruction manuals had managed to do. Although Galton had not 'discovered' each piece of advice himself, he claimed to have tested suggestions derived from other sources wherever possible. While Livingstone sought to deny that anyone else had shaped his text, the value of Galton's manual lay precisely in the fact that he had managed to compile, edit and evaluate the work of other travellers before presenting it in a portable form. The authority of *The Art of Travel*, the volume suggested, relied therefore upon Galton's expertise rather than his experience alone.

As explained in Chapter 5, *The Art of Travel* was later used to lend credibility to the *Vacation Tourists* series. Advertisements emphasised that Galton was editor to the series and made direct reference to his instruction manual. Authority in this instance was to be achieved, in part at least, by association. Galton's reputation was not the only factor used to promote the value of Macmillan's new publishing project, however. The publisher sought to convince potential readers that the series was unique in design and content, offering timely accounts of travel from across the globe. Macmillan suggested that the composite form adopted offered as a guarantee that essays would be free from the hyperbole and 'working up' which so commonly characterised works of travel. In this instance then, rather than trying to hide the fact that published accounts of travel rarely recounted simply the bare facts (as Murray and Livingstone did), Macmillan and Galton openly acknowledged that travellers were prone to exaggeration in order to provide a rationale for their own series, with its short-essay format and strong editorial control. Encouraging contributors to sign their essays at a time when anonymous periodical publication was the norm was another strategy which could help to signal the trustworthiness of the series, communicating to readers that each author was willing to take responsibility for the claims they made in their essays. It was also the case, of course, that having well-known men and women of science and literature attached to the series lent further credibility to each volume. In this respect there were clear parallels between the

strategies adopted by Macmillan and Galton and those deployed in relation to *The Geographical Magazine* and its related titles, as discussed in Chapter 6. Markham's involvement as editor, for example, helped to lend authority to the venture, among the geographical community especially. Like Macmillan, Markham was also determined that the *Geographical Record* and the *Geographical Magazine* should be a unique resource containing topical and novel contents which would appeal to a 'general' audience. This thesis therefore suggests that publishers and authors based their claims to authority on different criteria depending on the specific form of the venture in question.

Extended Networks of Print

This thesis also emphasises, however, that the authority of published texts was constructed and contested in a wide variety of print spaces. In addition to authorised editions (and pirated editions), wider networks of print – including spaces of advertising and review – were crucial to positioning and promoting these texts in specific ways, before and after works came to market. Publisher's advertisements, for instance, regularly contained information about format, content and price which allowed potential readers to draw certain conclusions about the nature of a publication without encountering a copy first-hand. Chapters 3 and 5 emphasised that advertising was utilised by publishers to create a demand for works long before they were ready for publication. However, in the case of both *Missionary Travels* and *Vacation Tourists* this was shown to be a strategy which carried a certain degree of risk. In the first instance rivals took advantage of the growing appetite for a narrative of Livingstone's travels and produced their own volumes when Livingstone failed to meet the advertised schedule. Similarly, Macmillan complained that the novelty of some contributions was being undermined by publishers and authors who had rushed works into print in the gap between announcing the contents of the next instalment and publication taking place. In both instances, advertisements left readers disappointed as publication had taken much longer than the notices suggested. Advertising though did not cease to be important after the initial publication of these volumes with publishers continuing to promote works so long as it was economically viable to do so. Such adverts did not always promote editions in consistent ways, however, with Murray attempting to reposition *The Art of Travel* as part of his Handbooks series at particular points while Macmillan decided to re-

advertise earlier editions of *Vacation Tourists* as new works before publishing the third edition. Chapter 3 also highlighted that advertising spaces could be invoked to challenge the authority of particular works with American publishers Harper and Brothers, J.W. Bradley, and German firms Spamer and Costenoble preparing notices designed to discredit the value of their rivals' editions of *Missionary Travels*. These and many other advertisements carried extracts from favourable periodical reviews in order to emphasise the value of one edition over another, highlighting that many reviews performed a function beyond their original publishing context.

Periodical reviews themselves have been an important resource within this thesis. Whilst Chapters 1 and 2 highlighted that it is problematic to assume that reviews represent simply the unmediated opinions of individual reviewers, this thesis has used reviews as a route to accessing broader questions of reception – seeking to understand how reviews positioned particular publishing ventures in line with the conventions of the periodicals they wrote for, the surrounding political, social and religious contexts and, importantly, the perceived expectations of their own readerships. In so doing I have shown that published periodical reviews regularly cohered around a limited number of themes although individual reviewers might adopt different reviewing strategies and/or reach different conclusions about the merits of a particular publication. This provided a basis for comparing reviewers' published responses and highlighted that publisher's and author's attempts to package texts in particular ways to make them more appealing to particular readerships often produced tangible impacts beyond the publishing house. Chapters 3, 4 and 5 demonstrated that reviewers regularly discussed features which had been prepared with the demands of readers in mind. However, these chapters also revealed that reviewers did not always respond in expected ways, highlighting that while publication was clearly collaborative, allowing publishers to exert a mediating influence, reviewers and readers more generally nevertheless retained the power to resist this influence.

'Popularising' Geography

This thesis also demonstrates that print networks linked institutions such as the Royal Geographical Society with the commercial publishing sphere. Chapter 2 highlighted the significance of print to the operation of the Society from its inception while each of the substantive chapters have indicated that Society Fellows were

involved in publishing, authoring, editing, illustrating, owning and reading publications dedicated to promoting and circulating particular forms of geographical knowledge beyond the Society itself. Chapters 2, 3 and 4, for instance highlighted that publisher John Murray was simultaneously responsible for the Society's *Journal* and several influential works of travel and exploration. Chapters 4 and 5 highlighted that Francis Galton utilised his connections within the RGS to compile and edit both *The Art of Travel* and *Vacation Tourists and Notes of Travel*. Chapter 6 meanwhile emphasised that Clements Markham's association with the *Our Ocean Highways* and the *Geographical Magazine* was directly connected to his vision for the Society's own publications and for geography more widely. These are just a few of the overlaps which this thesis has highlighted but they serve to remind us that 'popularising geography' – a phrase which Society Fellows themselves used – encompassed a diverse range of approaches, crossing between the scholarly, scientific and commercial publishing spheres. Further research is required to understand whether it is possible to identify 'professional popularisers' of geography as has been done in the context of the physical sciences in general, and new relationship between geographical societies and other institutions involved in popularising geography.¹⁶ However, the cases explored in this thesis suggest that publishing strategies designed to enhance the authority of the RGS sat uneasily alongside those intended to widen the public appeal of geographical writing.

7.2 Historical Geographies of Geographical Publishing: Implications

The synthesis offered above has demonstrated that the four case studies at the centre of this thesis permit broader conclusions about the nature of travel and exploration publishing in the mid-Victorian period. This section now moves beyond those case studies to consider the wider theoretical and methodological implications. I begin by reflecting upon the value and wider applicability of the research framework adopted within this thesis before moving on to consider the significance of this research for historians of nineteenth-century geography.

I have approached travel publishing in the mid-Victorian period from a perspective which encourages us think holistically about how knowledge was produced, circulated and received in various printed forms. This has led me to focus

¹⁶ See, for example, B. Lightman, *Victorian Popularizers of Science: Designing Nature for New Audiences* (Chicago: Chicago University Press, 2007).

on networks of people and of print, considering how geographical texts were prepared for publication before exploring how the various material forms they occupied were advertised, reviewed, sold, borrowed and read. In so doing I have highlighted that decisions made in the publishing house could produce tangible impacts. However, I have also shown that reviewers and other readers did not always respond in expected ways, at times resisting the interventions made by publishers and other technicians of print. It is only by working at different scales and by following the connections between different individuals and print spaces that I have been able to draw the conclusions outlined above. This approach, as Chapter 1 explained, has been informed by the work of many book historians and historians and geographers of science. In particular, the networked models of Darnton and Adams and Barker provided a means of conceptualising the publishing industry and influenced my decision to try to link together questions about the nature of production with those of circulation and reception.¹⁷ Adams and Barker though, by emphasising that texts could occupy multiple forms (as suggested by their focus on 'survival') encouraged me to think more widely about questions of circulation, exploring piracies and abridgements, for instance. However, as I noted in Chapters 1 and 2, it is still more common for scholars to concentrate upon one particular aspect of the publishing process or a particular edition of a printed text rather than exploring the process as a whole. Applying a framework committed to exploring conditions surrounding the production, circulation and reception of texts in the context of mid-Victorian travel and exploration publishing allows us to consider the wider applicability of networked approaches to the publishing industry. As Chapter 1 explained, Darnton's model of the 'communications circuit' (Figure 1.1) focuses on individual agents involved in the publishing process (author, publishers, printers, suppliers, shippers, booksellers, readers and binders) and places them within particular intellectual, economic, social and political contexts while Adams and Barker's 'new model for the history of the book' (Figure 1.2) centred upon five stages which printed objects pass through (publication, manufacture, distribution, reception and survival) and again situates these in relation to the over-arching socio-economic context. In Chapter 1, I explained that Darnton had suggested that there

¹⁷ R. Darnton, 'What is the history of books?' in R. Darnton, *The Kiss of Lamourette: Reflections in Cultural History* (New York: W.W Norton & Company, 1990), 107-135; T.R. Adams and N. Barker, 'A New Model for the Study of the Book' in N. Barker (ed.) *A Potencie of Life: Books in Society* (London: The British Library, 1993), 5-44.

was really little to separate these two models as any study of the publishing industry would have to consider networks of both printed objects and people. However, my research renders Darnton's modelling of the publishing industry problematic because it shows that the categories of 'publisher', 'editor', 'author' and 'reader' were rarely fixed or mutually exclusive. Focusing upon different stages in the life of a published work, as Adams and Barker suggest and as this thesis does, allows us to view the collaborative nature of publishing much more clearly, emphasising that publishers edited and authored texts and paratexts alongside named authors while reviewers and booksellers were also responsible for promoting and positioning these works in particular ways, not always consistent with the efforts of publishers and authors. It has also allowed us to consider how reviewers and readers like James Collins (in Chapter 4) effectively subverted the intentions of publishers and authors.

However, this thesis also highlights that while these models encourage us to think holistically about the publishing process, in practice, certain stages lend themselves more readily to analysis than others. In the cases I have explored, for example, I have focused on how a variety of publishers, editors, authors, readers and reviewers were implicated in the production of geographical knowledge as works of travel and exploration were produced, circulated and received in various printed forms. I have not, however, considered the role of printers, binders or booksellers, for example, to a significant extent, not because I believe them to be unimportant but because time, space and more importantly, sources have not allowed me to do so. This does not challenge the utility of these models per se but reminds us that they are simplified versions of more complex realities.

The research framework adopted in this thesis also took inspiration from the work of James Secord on the production, circulation and reception of a single published text, *Vestiges of the Natural History of Creation*. As outlined in Chapter 1, Secord was inspired by networked approaches to book history, also emphasising the need to connect questions of production with those of circulation and reception and encouraging us to consider the multitude of forms that texts could come to occupy (indeed his research is not tightly tied to print, highlighting that there is scope to consider whether these networked approaches might be extended to spaces of speech or display). What marked Secord's approach as different, however, was his commitment to reconstructing the reading experiences or 'real' rather than imagined readers. He complained that networked models rarely placed readers on an equal

footing with publishers and authors, for example. While Secord's examination of the production, circulation and reception of Robert Chambers' *Vestiges* was widely praised, as I noted in Chapters 1 and 2 whether this approach had wider applicability remained open to question. The sensational nature of *Vestiges* made it ripe for this kind of analysis but some suggested that less controversial or less commercially successful works might not lend themselves to this kind of study. However, this thesis has shown that it is possible to undertake studies of the production, circulation and reception of a much wider range of exemplary publishing projects by combining archival and printed sources with a variety of electronic resources. Electronic resources in particular were crucial to identifying the connections between the publishing contexts, titles, authors, editors, publishers, readers and institutions which feature in this thesis. They made it possible to track particular texts as they moved through a variety of print spaces (including authorised volumes, piracies, translations, abridgements, advertisements, reviews, bookshops and libraries) often highlighting journeys which were quite unexpected. By revealing the pathways that different texts followed beyond the publishing house, these resources opened up new avenues for research. Being able to locate and search a vast number and variety of nineteenth-century periodicals, for example, enabled me to offer considerable insights into the different audiences for geography. Rather than assuming that reviews were direct evidence of reading, I argued that they could be used to understand how particular reviewers positioned geographical texts in line with the established conventions of the periodicals they wrote for, the broader social, political and geographical contexts in which they reviewed and the perceived expectations of their own readers.

The collaborative nature of publication and the mediating influence of publishers, editors and reviewers encourages us to think more carefully about who we write in and out of the history of geography. As Withers and Keighren suggest, we might view publishers and other technicians of print in the same light as the intermediaries who facilitated the collection of geographical knowledge in the field during the nineteenth century. By following texts from the publishing house into the marketplace and into the hands of reviewers and readers, this thesis demonstrates that interventions made within the publishing house were not always invisible to readers and nor were they always effective, with readers and reviewers sometimes responding in unexpected ways. However, that publishers, editors and other

technicians of print attempted to shape geographical knowledge in specific ways for particular readers as a matter of routine and were regularly able to do so is also clear from my research adding weight to the suggestion that we might expand the limits of geography once more to incorporate those that facilitated the construction, circulation and consumption of geographical knowledge through print.

This research has also drawn attention to the breadth of geography's print archive. For example, while celebrated texts such as *Missionary Travels* did have a significant impact (and in fact, a much wider impact than we have hitherto realised), many readers would have encountered Livingstone's travels in alternative material forms. Piracies, abridgements, translations, pamphlets and periodical articles and reviews were significant sources of geographical information for many nineteenth-century readers, a fact which studies of nineteenth-century travel-writing have largely ignored. By expanding geography's canon beyond authorised and celebrated volumes we can potentially gain a much better understanding of the readerships which publishers, editors and authors targeted at this time. This thesis reminds us that instant commercial success on the scale of *Missionary Travels* was not the norm, highlighting that other projects achieved more modest but sustained success over a longer period of time (as in *The Art of Travel*) or simply broke even (as *Vacation Tourists* did). Exploring different publishing formats and contexts highlights that different forms of travel publishing were not always judged by the same criteria and thus 'success' could be measured in different ways depending on the specific aims of the venture. Doing so also allows us to gain a better understanding of who exactly was involved in publishing geographical texts for a variety of different audiences. John Murray is a familiar figure to those interested in nineteenth-century accounts of travel and exploration but this thesis reminds us that the field of geographical publishing was heavily populated by a number of publishers, editors and authors that we as yet know little about. Exploring the wider field of geographical publishing not only opens new avenues for research but also helps to situate Murray and his texts.

7.3 Geographical Publishing and Print Culture: Future Directions

Having outlined the main conclusions which might be drawn from this thesis and considered the wider implications of this work, it is useful to consider, in conclusion, where this research might proceed in the future. Here I shall consider specifically the potential for expanding the analytical framework adopted in this thesis, firstly in the

case of travel and exploration publishing specifically; and secondly in relation to geographical publishing more widely. Although the primary focus is on the mid-Victorian period, I will also suggest that there is scope to explore the significance of geographical publishing in other geographical locations and chronological periods and to consider whether connections can be drawn between different histories and geographies of geographical publishing.

This thesis has used four exemplary publishing projects associated with travel and exploration in order to consider the connections between print, publishing and geographical knowledge in the mid-Victorian period. These projects have allowed me to explore different contexts and formats of travel publishing involving a number of publishers, editors, authors and audiences. While each chapter has offered significant insights into the production, circulation and reception of the publishing projects concerned, there is scope for further research and analysis in each instance. For example, in this thesis, questions of reception have been framed in broadly geographical and scalar terms. This is most evident in relation to the discussion of responses to *Missionary Travels* within the reviewing presses of Britain and America which is offered in Chapter 3. Here I have identified and discussed different approaches to reviewing as well as providing an overview of the main themes which recurred in the reviews listed in Appendix II. In so doing I have uncovered a long overlooked international publishing history which deserves further consideration, especially in relation to the mediating influence of translators and translations. I have also demonstrated the breadth of reviews that *Missionary Travels* provoked and future research might focus more closely on the authors responsible for these reviews and the publications which carried them in order to throw greater light on how their positionality shaped their interpretations of Livingstone's narrative, providing a more nuanced insight into reviewers as readers in the process.

However, whilst approach has allowed me to shed new light on the breadth of publications which saw fit to recommend this work and afforded the opportunity to offer some insight into the importance of geography in shaping the content of such reviews, in attempting to construct a coherent narrative from such a number and array of reviews, some of the detail has inevitably been lost. Future work could apply alternative categories and scales of analysis, in order to produce more detailed explanations of how different reading communities responded to this and other works of travel and exploration. If we take those reviews identified in Appendix II,

for instance, the publications in which they appeared might be grouped according to their political or religious affiliation or ordered by subject matter or arranged by target audience. It would then be possible to carry out a closer analysis, comparing reviews within these individual categories. We might thus come to understand in greater detail how differently (or similarly) *Missionary Travels* was presented in the Catholic and Protestant presses; how scientific periodicals understood the text as compared to economic or literary publications or, for example, how women's and children's periodicals prepared reviews with their respective audiences in mind. As well as examining similarities and differences between reviews within similar periodicals, analysis might focus more closely on the relationship between reviews and other materials within a single periodical. In thus tightening the scale of analysis further, it becomes possible to consider how reviews can contribute to the broader project of a periodical venture.

Looking beyond *Missionary Travels*, it is certainly true that exploration narratives have dominated studies of nineteenth-century travel writing, however this case suggests that new insights can be gained from studying even the most well-known accounts if approached from the perspective adopted in this thesis. Future research should focus on how expedition narratives were repackaged in piracies, abridgements, pamphlets and periodicals in order to shed further light on how texts could be repackaged in specific forms designed to satisfy the perceived demands of particular groups of readers who have generally been underrepresented in studies of geography's audiences.

In the case of *The Art of Travel* there are also several aspects of the publishing history which require further investigation. The relationship between *The Art of Travel* and *The Art of Campaigning* is particularly interesting. I continue to search for the models and specimens Galton used in his lectures for soldiers in Aldershot and which were later exhibited in numerous contexts in an attempt to gain greater insights into the non-textual outputs that this manual inspired, for example. More widely, this case is indicative of the relationship between commercial and institutionally-endorsed instructions for travellers and encourages us to look more closely at the connections between these publishing projects in the context of geography but also more broadly, in other field sciences and in relation to military education and training.

The role of book series in promoting knowledge derived from travel and exploration also deserves further attention in light of Chapter 5 which demonstrated that the edited annual presented Macmillan and Galton with particular opportunities and challenges. Examining further examples of this publishing format would help to place Macmillan's decision to initiate the series in greater context and shed light on how prominent this series was in the mid-Victorian period.

Several avenues for further research also emerged while researching the *Geographical Magazine* and its earlier titles. Again, the wider publishing careers of its contributors might be investigated, in order to explore the relationships between book and serial publication. So too might the relationship between this periodical venture and other commercial geographical periodicals in Britain and abroad at this time. Further research is also required to investigate the overseas circulation and reception of such periodical publications and the publication history of the maps published within them.

Moving beyond the cases featured in this thesis, Chapter 2 acknowledged that there were some forms of travel and exploration publishing which could not be directly addressed through the four publishing projects at the core of this thesis. Research is already being undertaken into the collaborative nature of map and atlas publishing for instance, through Collaborative Doctoral Awards at the University of Edinburgh, for example, while missionary literature and more technical reports, for instance, might also be subjected to similar analysis in the future. Although this thesis attempted to eschew an inward-looking institutional history centred on the RGS, the presence of the Society nevertheless looms large in this account. Future studies might counter this influence by approaching travel and exploration publishing from the perspective of audiences not traditionally represented in histories of the RGS – children's or women's literature perhaps – or by focusing upon publications associated with alternative institutions and societies – the British Association for the Advancement of Science, for instance.¹⁸

As Chapter 2 highlighted, travel and exploration publishing is just one route into a larger field of geographical publishing. There is therefore scope to extend the framework and methodology deployed in this thesis to other forms of geographical publishing. Doing so will allow us to consider whether travel is representative of

¹⁸ C.W.J. Withers, *Geography and Science in Britain, 1831-1939: A Study of the British Association for the Advancement of Science* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2010).

geographical publishing more widely or whether the specific nature of travel publishing – regularly attempting to render a world ‘out there’ knowable for a readership which cannot easily verify claims made within these works – ensures that it is produced, circulated and received in equally specific ways. Examining geographical publishing more widely will potentially allow us to consider how different forms of publishing overlapped: for example, how did map and atlas publishing overlap with geographical textbooks and these with ‘popular’ children’s magazines recounting tales of foreign adventure?

This thesis has emphasised that in the context of travel and exploration publishing, networks of print regularly extended across national and linguistic boundaries. Chapter 3, for example, explored the transatlantic circulation of *Missionary Travels* and a selection of (authorised and unauthorised) translated editions, highlighting that there was a long-overlooked international publishing history of Livingstone’s narrative which deserves further attention. However, even works which enjoyed less spectacular commercial success circulated beyond Britain. In Chapter 5, for instance, I noted that volumes of *Vacation Tourists* had appeared in libraries in America and Australia raising questions about the international circulation and reception of the series which might be followed up in the future. Chapter 6 also highlighted that editions of *Our Ocean Highways* and the *Geographical Magazine* which contained accounts of foreign geographical societies and articles in European languages also circulated through several of Philips’ European agents. This thesis, then, has shown that transnational print networks allowed works of travel and exploration to cross national and linguistic boundaries. Further research into the relationship between different contexts of production, circulation and reception will provide greater insights into how geography shaped the ways that particular geographical ‘discoveries’ were presented and re-presented in print for specific audiences. This means not only considering how British works were imported, reprinted, abridged, translated, advertised or reviewed in foreign contexts but also how works produced in other geographical locations were presented in different parts of Britain through a variety of print spaces.

However, we should not assume that print was always the most significant medium for constructing, circulating and contesting geographical ‘discoveries’, especially if we are to shift our geographical focus beyond Anglo-American and European contexts. This thesis has highlighted that even within Britain and Europe,

print was not always deemed the most appropriate means of constructing and circulating geographical knowledge. As Chapter 4 discussed, *The Art of Travel* gave rise to a series of lectures (the first of which being published as *The Art of Campaigning*), displays and practical demonstrations suggesting that Galton felt that print was not the sole or even necessarily the best medium by which to instruct soldiers in field craft. Further research might explore the connections between print networks, speech spaces and spaces of exhibition potentially yielding insights into how geographical knowledge was made and re-made as it travelled through different media.

Just as we might expand the geographical limits of this research, so too might we might adopt a longer view of the history of geographical publishing. The significance of the chronological focus adopted in this thesis has already been alluded to earlier in this chapter, however, it is important to acknowledge that the publishing projects considered in the course of this research sometimes continued beyond the period discussed in each chapter. While *Vacation Tourists* came to a natural conclusion relatively soon after the publication of the third and final volume in the series there was scope to continue the analysis of the other three projects. Chapter 3, for example, focused on the circulation and reception of *Missionary Travels* in the later 1850s and early 1860s, capturing the immediate response to its publication by publishers, authors and various reviewers. This limit was necessary given the sheer scale of research material available but with more time and space further insights could be gained into the impact of this travel narrative by exploring the production, circulation and reception of the many, many editions of *Missionary Travels* which have subsequently appeared in print.

Similarly, *The Art of Travel* remains in print today, though Chapter 4 focuses primarily on the period 1855 to 1872. In these years, five editions of Galton's manual were published and although subsequent editions later appeared, no new material was added after this date. Again, we might consider how Galton's manual was repackaged and received in different historical contexts. Finally, Chapter 6 considered the transformation of a periodical title between 1870 and 1878. Although the end point for the chapter was set by the publication of the final edition of the *Geographical Magazine*, future research might look more closely at the early years of the *Proceedings of the Royal Geographical Society*, the periodical which the *Geographical Magazine* made way for. This would allow us to consider whether the

commercial publication actually had a long-term impact upon the format of the *Society's* periodical outputs.

This thesis makes a theoretical, methodological and empirical contribution to understanding the production, circulation and reception of geographical texts in a particular historical and geographical setting. However, the research also has implications for how we approach geographical publishing in the present day. Publication remains a crucial means of constructing, circulating and contesting claims to geographical knowledge, within an academic context at least. Yet, as for the nineteenth-century, the fact that publishing is so central to our everyday professional existence risks rendering it invisible. Although as academics we talk (even complain) about the pressure to publish as a matter of routine, the extent to which researchers write for publication in particular print spaces and how this impacts the kinds of research which is produced is less commonly discussed. Similarly, although collaborative authorship is commonplace, with peer-review being an important stage in the publication process, the actual processes whereby work is produced are still largely hidden from view. Authors might tip their hat to constructive comments from anonymous referees but how often do we acknowledge which parts of our texts have been shaped by our colleagues and in what ways?

I have suggested that we need to link questions of production with those of circulation and reception. Debates over the future of the physical library, the power of publishers to limit access to our own research and the place of the monograph are already in full flow¹⁹ but we might learn from historical research such as that presented here more about academic geography's readers (who are of course often its authors and peer reviewers too) and their reading practices. It is easy to vilify publishers in discussions over the current state of geographical publishing but it is necessary to acknowledge our own complicity in shaping the way that knowledge is produced, circulated and received through print. This thesis has suggested that it is necessary to consider the publishing industry as a network which includes publishers, authors, editors, reviewers, readers and many other technicians of print. Analyses of contemporary publishing should do the same.

¹⁹ See for, example, R. Darnton, *The Case for Books: Past, Present and Future* (New York: Public Affairs, 2009); J.B. Thompson, *Merchants of Culture: The Publishing Business in the Twenty-First Century* (Cambridge: Polity Press, 2010); J.B. Thompson, *Books in the Digital Age: The Transformation of Academic and Higher Education* (Cambridge: Polity Press, 2005).

It is clear, however, that mapping a framework developed for use in the nineteenth century onto the twenty-first century publishing scene will not necessarily be straightforward. I have already discussed the fact that categories such as 'publisher', 'editor' and 'author' are problematic in the nineteenth century. But in the digital era, distinctions between these roles have broken down even further. The archival traces left by publication today are not necessarily the same as those of earlier periods either, with word-processing and email correspondence potentially obliterating the paper trail which was unavoidable in earlier periods (although records do not necessarily survive simply because they were once etched on paper).²⁰ This presents a challenge for researchers interested in contemporary publishing today but also raises questions about how twenty-first century publishing will be integrated into the historical record in the future.

* * *

This thesis makes an empirical, theoretical and methodological contribution to our understanding of the connections between print and the production, circulation and reception of particular forms of geographical knowledge in a particular historical and geographical context, namely travel and exploration publishing in mid-Victorian Britain. This final chapter has provided a rationale and a research framework for extending this research into new publishing contexts, and different periods and places, encouraging us to think seriously about our own roles as authors, editors, reviewers and readers in the process.

²⁰ R. Rosenzweig, 'Scarcity or Abundance? Preserving the Past in a Digital Era', *The American Historical Review*, 108 (2003), 735-762.

Appendix I: Chronology of Publications

Detailed below are the main primary publications discussed in Chapters 3 to 6. This chronology includes variant titles, editions and translations associated with the four publishing ventures discussed in each of these chapters but not periodical reviews.

- | | |
|-------------|---|
| 1854 | F. Galton, 'Hints to Travellers', <i>Journal of the Royal Geographical Society</i> 24, 345-6. |
| 1855 | G.W. Clark (ed.), <i>Cambridge Essays, contributed by Members of the University</i> (London: John W. Parker and Sons) |
| | F. Galton, <i>The Art of Travel or, Shifts and Contrivances Available in Wild Countries</i> 1 st Edition (London: John Murray) |
| | F. Galton, <i>Arts of Campaigning: An Inaugural Lecture, Delivered at Aldershot, on the Opening of his Museum and Laboratory in the South Camp</i> (London: John Murray) |
| 1856 | F. Galton, <i>The Art of Travel or, Shifts and Contrivances Available in Wild Countries</i> , 2 nd Edition (London: John Murray) |
| 1857 | D. Livingstone, <i>Missionary Travels and Researches in South Africa Including a Sketch of Sixteen Years' Residence in the Interior of Africa and a Journey from the Cape of Good Hope to Loanda on the West Coast; Thence Across the Continent, Down the River Zambesi, to the Eastern Ocean</i> , (London: John Murray) |
| | H.G. Adams, <i>Dr Livingstone: His life and Adventures in the Interior of South Africa: Comprising a Description of the Regions which he Traversed; an Account of Missionary Pioneers; and Chapters on Cotton Cultivation, Slavery, Wild Animals, etc. etc.</i> , (London: Houlston and Wright) |
| | J.H. Coombs, <i>Dr Livingstone's 17 Years' Explorations and Adventures in the Wilds of Africa</i> , (Philadelphia: J.T. Lloyd & Co.) |
| 1858 | H. Paumier, <i>L'Afrique ouverte ou une esquisse des decouvertes du Dr Livingstone</i> , (Paris: Meyrueis et Cie) |

- D. Livingstone, *Missionsreisen und Forschungen in Süd-Afrika während eines sechzehnjährigen Aufenthalts im Innern des Continents*, H. Lotze (trans.), 2 vols, (Leipzig: Costenoble)
- 1859 *Peaks, Passes and Glaciers: A Series of Excursions by Members of the Alpine Club* first published by Longman. Edited by John Ball
- D. Livingstone, *Explorations dans l'intérieur de l'Afrique australe*, H. Loreau (trans.) (Paris: Hachette)
- D. Livingstone, *Livingstone's Travels and Researches in South Africa*, (Philadelphia: J.W. Bradley)
- 1860 R.B. Marcy, *The Prairie Traveler. A Hand-Book for Overland Expeditions. With Maps, Illustrations, and Itineraries of the Principal Routes between the Mississippi and Pacific* (New York: Harper and Brothers)
- F. Galton, *The Art of Travel or, Shifts and Contrivances Available in Wild Countries*, 3rd Edition (London: John Murray)
- 1861 D. Livingstone, *A Popular Account of Missionary Travels and Researches in South Africa*, (London: John Murray)
- F. Galton, *Vacation Tourists and Notes of Travel in 1860* (Cambridge: Macmillan and Co.)
- 1862 F. Galton (ed.) *Vacation Tourists and Notes of Travel in 1861* (Cambridge: Macmillan and Co.)
- 1863 R. Burton (ed.), R.B. Marcy, *The Prairie Traveler. A Hand-Book for Overland Expeditions*, (London: Trübner and Co.)
- 1864 F. Galton (ed.), *Vacation Tourists and Notes of Travel in 1862-3* (Cambridge: Macmillan and Co.)
- F. Galton, (ed.), *Knapsack Guide for Travellers in Switzerland* (London: John Murray)
- 1865 F. Galton, *A Handbook for Travellers' in Switzerland, and the Alps of Savoy and Piedmont*, 11th Edition (London: John Murray)

- 1867 F. Galton, *The Art of Travel or, Shifts and Contrivances Available in Wild Countries*, 4th Edition (London: John Murray)
- 1870 J.M. Dempsey (ed.) *Our Ocean Highways: A Condensed Universal Hand Gazetteer and International Route Book, By Ocean, Road or Rail* (London: Edward Stanford)
- Our Ocean Highways: A Monthly Supplement to the Annual Volume* begins in April 1870. Edited by J.M. Dempsey
- 1871 J.M. Dempsey and W. Hughes (eds.) *Our Ocean Highways: A Condensed Universal Hand Gazetteer and International Route Book, By Ocean, Road or Rail* (London: Edward Stanford)
- 1872 Supplement to *Our Ocean Highways* is renamed *Our Ocean Highways: Geographical Record & Travellers Register. Monthly Supplement to the Annual Volume*. Edited by J.M. Dempsey
- Renamed *Ocean Highways: The Geographical Record* from July 1872. Clements R. Markham takes over as Editor. Published by George Philip and Son. Owned by J.M. Dempsey.
- F. Galton, *The Art of Travel or, Shifts and Contrivances Available in Wild Countries*, 5th Edition (London: John Murray)
- 1873 *Ocean Highways: The Geographical Record* is renamed *Ocean Highways: The Geographical Review* in April 1873. Edited by Clements R. Markham. Published by Trübner and Co.
- 1874 The *Geographical Magazine* replaces *Ocean Highways: The Geographical Review*. Edited by Clements R. Markham (Editor), published by Trübner and Co.
- 1878 Final issue of the *Geographical Magazine* is published in December. A new series of *Proceedings of the Royal Geographical Society* takes its place.

Appendix II: Electronic Resources for Mid-Victorian Geographical Publishing

The following tables contain details of the electronic resources relevant to nineteenth-century publishing and/or travel and exploration which have been used in the course of my research. They include: (1) Online Catalogues, Indexes and Finding Aids; (2) Electronic Full-Text Databases; (3) Collections of Personal Archives and Published Papers; and (4) Additional Contextual Sources Online.

1. Online Catalogues, Indexes and Finding Aids

| Name | Description | Publisher/Content Provider | Access/ Address |
|---|--|---|-----------------|
| Athenaeum Index of Reviews and Reviewers | An index of book reviews published in the Athenaeum between 1828 and 1870, including biographical details of their reviewers. | British Library, The Pilgrim Trust, City University | Open Access |
| Bibliography of Scottish Literature in Translation (BOSLIT) | An online catalogue of more than 25,000 translations of Scottish literary works covering the period since 1500 to the present day. | BOSLIT, National Library of Scotland | Open Access |
| C19: The Nineteenth-Century Index | C19 integrates 12 nineteenth-century indexes which can be searched simultaneously. It includes British Periodicals, House of Commons Parliamentary Papers, Palmer's Index to <i>The Times</i> and Wellesley Index to Victorian Periodicals, 1824-1900. | Chadwyck-Healey (ProQuest) | Subscription |

| | | | |
|---|---|---|--------------|
| Copac | This catalogue allows users to search the holdings of major UK and Irish academic and specialist research libraries, plus the British Library, the National Library of Scotland, the National Library of Wales/Llyfrgell Genedlaethol Cymru, and the National Art Library (V&A). It also contains records for other collections of national importance. | JISC, MIMAS, University of Manchester | Open Access |
| Missionary Periodicals Database | This database records British periodicals published between the 18 th century and 1960s by missionary societies and commercial publishers relating to foreign missions. | The Pew Charitable Trusts of Philadelphia, University of Cambridge, Yale University | Open Access |
| Periodicals Index Online | An electronic index of articles published in the arts, humanities and social sciences. Coverage spans the period 1665 to 1995 and includes more than 6000 journals in a variety of languages. | ProQuest | Subscription |
| Science in the Nineteenth-Century Periodical (SciPer) | An electronic index to science within 16 British nineteenth-century general periodicals. The database contains entries for over 14,000 articles and references to more than 6000 individuals and 2500 publications. | University of Sheffield University of Leeds | Open Access |

| | | | |
|--|---|---------------------------------------|--------------|
| Scottish Book Trade Index | An ongoing index of names, trades and addresses of those involved in the Scottish book trade prior to 1850. Content can be downloaded as a PDF or browsed online. | National Library of Scotland | Open Access |
| The Online Books Page | A continually updated index of books and serials available freely on the internet. The index consists of a "curated collection" which has been reviewed and catalogued by the project staff and "extended shelves" consisting of records containing automatically imported catalogue data from other sources. | University of Pennsylvania Libraries, | Open Access |
| Waterloo Directory of English Newspapers and Periodicals, 1800-1900 (online edition) | This resource provides access to information on 50,000 nineteenth-century English periodicals and newspapers. Content is indexed by title, location, issuing body, people and subject. The online edition includes digital images of 9000 periodical title pages. | North Waterloo Academic Press | Subscription |
| Wellesley Index to Victorian Periodicals, 1824-1900 | The Wellesley Index provides information about the authorship of articles published within 45 monthly and quarterly nineteenth century British periodicals. The online index incorporates the Curran Index which contains corrections and additions to entries within the original Wellesley Index. | Chadwyck-Healey (ProQuest) | Subscription |

| | | | |
|----------|---|--|-------------|
| WorldCat | WorldCat contains records for 1.5 billion items and allows simultaneous searching of the catalogues of member libraries around the world. | Online Computer Library Centre, Inc (OCLC) | Open Access |
|----------|---|--|-------------|

2. Electronic Full-Text Databases

| Name | Description | Publisher/Content Provider | Access/ Address |
|--|--|--|-----------------|
| 19th Century British Library Newspapers I and II | Fully searchable digital archive of nineteenth-century newspapers allowing access to a range of UK regional and national titles. It covers a spectrum of political allegiances. Part I contains 48 titles and Part II consists of 22 titles. | British Library, JISC and Gale Cengage | Subscription |
| 19th Century British Pamphlets Online | Following the completion of a cataloguing project which created records for 180,000 pamphlets held at 21 UK research libraries, this project has digitized 23,000 items (accessible via JSTOR). | RLUK, JISC, University of Southampton | Open Access |
| 19th Century Masterfile (Launched as Poole's Plus in 1999) | Masterfile combines several indexes to nineteenth-century published books, periodicals, newspapers and scientific reports including Poole's Index to Periodical Literature (1802-1906). | Paratext | Subscription |

| | | | |
|---|---|---|--------------|
| 19th Century UK Periodicals I and II | This resource offers searchable facsimile access to a number of nineteenth-century British periodicals. Parts I and II address the themes of 'New Readerships' and 'Empire' respectively. | Gale Cengage | Subscription |
| Australian Newspapers Digitization Programme | Integrated into the National Library of Australia's Trove website, this resource allows users to search and view images of a selection of Australian newspapers published between 1803 and 1955. | National Library of Australia | Open Access |
| British Periodicals I and II | This resource provides searchable full text and facsimile images of a collection of periodicals published in Britain from the 1600s onwards. Collection I contains over 160 journals Collection II adds a further 300 titles. | Chadwyck-Healey (ProQuest) | Subscription |
| Chronicling America: Historic American Newspapers | Users can search and view images of a collection of American newspapers published between 1860 and 1922. It also provides information about a wider range of newspapers published in the US from 1690 to the present. | National Endowment for the Humanities and the Library of Congress | Open Access |

| | | | |
|---|--|--|--------------|
| Gallica – La presse quotidienne | Gallica is the digital library of the Bibliothèque nationale de France. It allows users to search and download facsimile images of nineteenth century books, periodicals and newspapers. | Bibliothèque nationale de France | Open Access |
| Google Books | Online search engine allowing users to search and preview millions of books and periodicals. Many nineteenth-century works can be downloaded or viewed online. | Google | Open Access |
| House of Commons Parliamentary Papers | A full-text searchable digital archive of House of Commons parliamentary papers, 1801 to 2000. (including an index of papers up to 2004) | Chadwyck-Healey (ProQuest) | Subscription |
| Internet Library of Early Journals (ILEJ) | ILEJ is a digital library of partial runs of six periodicals: <i>Gentleman's Magazine</i> (1731-1830), <i>Philosophical Transactions of the Royal Society</i> (1757-77), <i>Annual Register</i> (1758-78), <i>Blackwood's Edinburgh Magazine</i> (1843-63), <i>The Builder</i> (1843-62) and <i>Notes and Queries</i> (1849-69). Limited browse and search capacity. | An eLib (Electronic Libraries Programme) Project by the Universities of Birmingham, Leeds, Manchester and Oxford | Open Access |

| | | | |
|---|---|--|--------------|
| John Johnson Collection of Printed Ephemera | Full-text digital archive of images of ephemera drawn from the Bodleian Library's John Johnson Collection which covers 18 th , 19 th and early 20 th centuries. Items are arranged in five categories: 19 th C. entertainment, the book-trade, popular prints, crime and punishment and advertising). | Chadwyck-Healey (Proquest) Bodleian Library, University of Oxford | Subscription |
| JSTOR | Users can search and view academic journals and monographs in as well as a range of primary sources. The JSTOR site includes complete runs of journals (and their associated titles) and contains much nineteenth-century material in addition to more recent content. | JSTOR | Subscription |
| Nineteenth-Century Serials Edition (NCSE) | NCSE is a freely accessible online edition of six periodicals and newspapers published in Britain between 1806 and 1890. NCSE consists of full page facsimiles and OCR-generated transcripts in addition to a searchable keyword index. | Birkbeck, University of London, King's College London, the British Library, and Olive Software | Open Access |
| Papers Past | This site provides access to 63 digitized newspapers and periodicals published in New Zealand between 1839 and 1945. | The National Library of New Zealand | Open Access |

| | | | |
|---|--|--|--------------|
| Periodical Archives Online | An online archive offering access to digital images of journals published in the arts, humanities and social sciences in the period 1802 – 2002. | Chadwyck-Healey (ProQuest) | Subscription |
| Project Gutenberg | An online collection of freely-accessible out-of-copyright electronic books. Offers a searchable catalogue and the provision to download in a variety of formats. | Project Gutenberg Literary Archive Foundation, Inc | Open Access |
| ProQuest Historical Newspapers | ProQuest Historical Newspapers contains searchable text and facsimile images of British and American newspapers. | ProQuest | Subscription |
| The Illustrated London News Historical Archive, 1842-2003 | This is a searchable digital edition of the entire run of <i>The Illustrated London News</i> (up to 2003) and includes full-colour facsimiles of pages. | Gale Cengage | Subscription |
| The Internet Archive | The Internet Archive provides access to historical content in a range of digital formats. Content can be downloaded directly or from linked websites including Google Books. A large number of nineteenth-century books and periodicals can be located, although coverage is often patchy. | The Internet Archive | Open Access |

| | | | |
|---|--|--|--------------|
| The Nineteenth Century in Print: the Making of America in Books and Periodicals | A searchable collection of facsimiles of nineteenth-century books and periodicals published in the United States, primarily consisting of items digitized by Cornell University and the University of Michigan as part of the Making of America project. | Library of Congress, University of Michigan and Cornell University | Open Access |
| The Times Digital Archive, 1785-1985 | A digital edition of <i>The Times</i> covering the period 1785-1985 allowing access to searchable facsimile images of individual articles or complete pages. | Gale Cengage | Subscription |

3. Collections of Personal Archives and Published Papers

| Name | Description | Publisher/Content Provider | Access/ Address |
|----------------|---|----------------------------|-----------------|
| galton.org | Online collection of Francis Galton's writings, often accompanied by facsimile images. This site also includes some material on biographies of Galton and links to relevant manuscript collections. | Gavan Tredoux (editor) | Open Access |
| burtoniana.org | Online collection of Richard F. Burton's writings. As well as Burton's most notable works, this site also contains facsimiles of almost 200 journal articles and pamphlets by the explorer. | Gavan Tredoux (editor) | Open Access |

| | | | |
|-------------------------------|---|--|-------------|
| Darwin Correspondence Project | This site provides access to 6000 of Darwin's letters written before 1867 and information about a further 9000 written in the years following this. The letters are accompanied by contextual metadata. | University of Cambridge | Open Access |
| Livingstone Online | This project aims to provide access to the medical and scientific writings of David Livingstone. Transcripts and facsimiles of many letters have been uploaded but the project is ongoing. The site also contains a catalogue of Livingstone's correspondence and a small selection of contextual essays. | Wellcome Trust Centre for the History of Medicine at UCL | Open Access |

4. Additional Contextual Sources Online

| Name | Description | Publisher/Content Provider | Access/ Address |
|--|---|----------------------------|-----------------|
| NINES: Nineteenth Century Scholarship Online | NINES is an ongoing online project publishing and providing access to peer-reviewed digital research on the nineteenth century. Scholarly journals, archives and databases have been peer-reviewed and integrated into their search platform. | NINES | Open Access |

| | | | |
|---|--|---|--------------|
| Research Society for American Periodicals (RSAP) | Website containing a number of resources for research into American periodicals including links to freely-accessible collections of full-text magazines and newspapers. | Research Association for American Periodicals | Open Access |
| The Victorian Dictionary | As well as an online dictionary designed to provide information about life in Victorian London, this site includes a collection of maps, bibliography and links to relevant libraries, archives and museums. | Lee Jackson (editor) | Open Access |
| The Victorian Web | This site contains a wealth of original research papers, bibliographies, links and images relating to Victorian literature, history and culture. | George P. Landow (editor) | Open Access |
| Victoria Research Web | This website acts as a guide to scholarly resources which includes materials on a wide range of issues associated with conducting research on the Victorian period. | Patrick Leary (editor) | Open Access |
| Oxford Dictionary of National Biography (ODNB) Online Edition | The online edition of the ODNB provides access to 57,000 biographies of individuals as well as thematic essays and access to the text of the 33 volumes of the original DNB. | Oxford University Press | Subscription |

Appendix III:

Missionary Travels in the Periodical Press: Reviews, 1857-1860

This list provides details of periodical reviews of *Missionary Travels*, arranged by country of publication. It is intended to be comprehensive rather than exhaustive, giving the major reviews in Anglophone periodicals and an indication of the variety of periodicals reviewing the book in English and a number of other languages. It includes many formats of periodicals.

America

- 'Barth and Livingstone on Central Africa', *New Englander*, 26 (1858), 347-372
- 'Book notices. *Missionary Travels and Researches in South Africa*', *Church Review and Ecclesiastical Register* 10 (1858), 596-597
- 'Critical notices. *Missionary Travels and Researches in South Africa*', *Southern Presbyterian Review*, 10 (1858), 636-643
- 'David Livingstone', *Peterson's Magazine*, 33 (1858), 171
- 'Dr Livingstone and his African discoveries', *Eclectic Magazine of Foreign Literature, Science, and Art*, 41 (1857), 384-399
- 'Dr Livingstone', *Oberlin Students' Monthly Devoted to Religion, Politics, and Literature*, 1 (1859), 296-299
- 'Dr Livingstone's discoveries', *Southern Literary Messenger Devoted to Every Department of Literature and Fine Arts*, 26 (1858), 134-147
- 'Dr Livingstone's travel's in Africa', *Theological and Literary Journal*, 10 (1858), 636-660
- 'Dr Livingstone's travels', *Bible Society Record*, 3 (1858), 23-24
- 'Editor's table: travellers', *Horticulturalist and Journal of Rural Art and Rural Taste*, 7 (1857), 143.

- 'Editorial and book notices. *Dr Livingstone's Travels and Researches in South Africa*', *De Bow's Review and Industrial Resources, Statistics, Etc.* 4 (1858), 111
- 'Geographical discovery in Eastern Africa', *Hunt's Merchant's Magazine and Commercial Review*, 43 (1860), 154-166
- 'Literary notices. *Journeys and Researches in South Africa*', *Harper's New Monthly Magazine*, 16 (1857), 117-118
- 'Literary notices. *Missionary Travels and Researches in South Africa*', *Knickerbocker, or New-York Monthly Magazine*, 51 (1858), 193
- 'Literary notices. *Missionary Travels and Researches in South Africa*', *Universalist Quarterly and General Review*, 15 (1858), 108-110
- 'Literary review. *Dr Livingstone's Travels and Researches in South Africa*', *United States Democratic Review*, 42 (1858), 79-80
- 'Livingstone's travels in South Africa', *Harper's New Monthly Magazine*, 16 (1858), 304-399
- 'Livingstone's travels in South Africa', *Littell's Living Age*, 20 (1858), 1-7
- 'Missionary Travels and Researches in South Africa [Review]', *North American Review*, 86 (1858), 293
- 'Missionary Travels and Researches in South Africa [Review]', *American Church Monthly*, 3 (1858), 145-150
- 'Missionary Travels and Researches in South Africa [Review]', *General Baptist Magazine, Repository, and Missionary Observer*, 5 (1858), 25-31
- 'New books. *Missionary Travels and Researches in South Africa*', *Ladies' Repository: A Monthly Periodical Devoted to Literature, Arts, and Religion*, 18 (1858), 182
- 'New York literary correspondence', *Ladies' Repository: A Monthly Periodical Devoted to Literature, Arts, and Religion*, 18 (1858), 121-122
- 'New York literary correspondence', *Ladies' Repository: A Monthly Periodical Devoted to Literature, Arts, and Religion*, 18 (1858), 59

- 'Notices of books. *Missionary Travels and Researches in South Africa*', *Quarterly Journal of the American Unitarian Association*, 5 (1858), 400
- 'Notices of new works. *Missionary Travels and Researches in South Africa*', *Southern Literary Messenger Devoted to Every Department of Literature and the Fine Arts*, 26 (1858), 80
- 'Original communications', *Ohio Medical and Surgical Journal*, 10 (1858), 273-297
- 'Recent explorations in Africa', *Princeton Review*, 35 (1863), 238-290
- 'Recent researches in Africa', *North American Review*, 86 (1858), 530-563
- 'Review and criticism. *Missionary Travels and Researches in South Africa*', *Presbyterian Magazine*, 8 (1858), 187-188
- 'Review of current literature: geography and travels', *Christian Examiner*, 64 (1858), 307-316
- 'Review of new books. *Missionary Travels and Researches in South Africa*', *Peterson's Magazine*, 33 (1858), 171
- Bell, J.D., 'A nation of the future', *Ladies' Repository: A Monthly Periodical Devoted to Literature, Arts, and Religion* 20 (1860), 614-620
- Kilpatrick, Dr., 'The African El Dorado', *De Bow's Review, Agricultural, Commercial, Industrial Progress and Resources*, 26 (1859), 503-513

Australia

- 'Livingstone's "Geographical Feat"', *Southern Spectator: A Magazine of Religious, Philanthropic, Social & General Literature*, 1 (1858), 241-250

Belgium

- 'Le voyages du Dr David Livingstone', *Le Correspondant Recueil Périodique*, 45 (1858), 490-507
- 'Littérature anglaise. Travels and researches in South Afrika, including a sketch of sixteen year's residence in the interior of Afrika, ou voyage et recherché dans le Sud de l'Afrique. Récit d'un séjour de seize années dans l'intérieur de ce pays', *La Libre Recherche, Revue Universelle*, 10 (1858), 303-305

Britain

- 'Africa and David Livingstone', *Local Preachers' Magazine and Christian Family Record*, 7 (1858), 33-38
- 'African life', *Westminster and Foreign Quarterly Review*, 69 (1858), 1-28
- 'Critical notices. *Missionary Travels and Researches in South Africa*', *Evangelical Repository*, 4 (1858), 141
- 'Dr Livingstone's discoveries in Southern Africa,' *The Times* (December 25, 1857), 5
- 'Dr Livingstone's missionary travels and researches in South Africa', *The Illustrated London News*, 886 (November 7, 1857), 451
- 'Dr Livingstone's travels in Africa', *United Presbyterian Magazine*, 1 (1857), 550-558
- 'Dr Livingstone's travels', *Christian Observer Conducted by Members of the Established Church*, 241 (1858), 48-64
- 'Dr Livingstone's travels', *Christian's Penny Magazine, and Friend of the People*, 8 (1858), 167-168
- 'Dr Livingstone's travels', *Scottish Congregational Magazine*, 8 (1858), 9-13
- 'Extracts from Dr Livingstone's journal', *Lady's Newspaper*, 1927 (1857), 309
- 'Extracts from Dr Livingstone's travels', *Monthly Herald: A Religious Miscellany, and Intelligencer of the English Churches of the Calvinistic Methodists*, 1 (7) (1858), 10-12
- 'Extracts from Dr Livingstone's travels', *Monthly Herald: A Religious Miscellany, and Intelligencer of the English Churches of the Calvinistic Methodists*, 1 (8) (1858), 33-34
- 'Extracts from Dr Livingstone's travels', *Monthly Herald: A Religious Miscellany, and Intelligencer of the English Churches of the Calvinistic Methodists*, 1 (9) (1858), 51-53

- 'Extracts from Dr Livingstone's travels', *Monthly Herald: A Religious Miscellany, and Intelligencer of the English Churches of the Calvinistic Methodists*, 1 (10) (1858), 72-73
- 'Extracts from Dr Livingstone's travels', *Monthly Herald: A Religious Miscellany, and Intelligencer of the English Churches of the Calvinistic Methodists*, 1 (11) (1858), 95-96
- 'Extracts from Dr Livingstone's travels', *Monthly Herald: A Religious Miscellany, and Intelligencer of the English Churches of the Calvinistic Methodists*, 1 (12) (1858), 112-113
- 'Extracts from Dr Livingstone's travels', *Monthly Herald: A Religious Miscellany, and Intelligencer of the English Churches of the Calvinistic Methodists*, 1 (13) (1858), 14-15
- 'Extracts from Dr Livingstone's travels', *Monthly Herald: A Religious Miscellany, and Intelligencer of the English Churches of the Calvinistic Methodists*, 1 (14) (1858), 32-33
- 'Extracts from Dr Livingstone's travels', *Monthly Herald: A Religious Miscellany, and Intelligencer of the English Churches of the Calvinistic Methodists*, 1 (15) (1858), 54-55
- 'Extracts from Dr Livingstone's travels', *Monthly Herald: A Religious Miscellany, and Intelligencer of the English Churches of the Calvinistic Methodists*, 1 (16) (1858), 74-75
- 'Extracts from Dr Livingstone's travels', *Monthly Herald: A Religious Miscellany, and Intelligencer of the English Churches of the Calvinistic Methodists*, 1 (17) (1858), 94-95
- 'From Dr. Livingstone's book on South Africa', *Englishwoman's Review and Home Newspaper*, 22 (1857), 186
- 'Latest information about lions', *Ladies' Companion, and Monthly Magazine*, 13 (1858), 144-147
- 'Literature. *Missionary Travels and Researches in South Africa*', *John Bull and Britannia*, 1928 (1857), 747
- 'Literature. *Missionary Travels and Researches in South Africa*', *John and Britannia*, 1932 (1857), 810

- 'Livingstone's African explorations', *Monthly Christian Spectator*, 7 (1857), 753-764
- 'Livingstone's African travels', *Eclectic Review*, 2 (1857), 505-524
- 'Livingstone's missionary travels in South Africa', *Macphail's Edinburgh Ecclesiastical Journal and Literary Review*, 24 (1858), 337-355
- 'Livingstone's missionary travels in South Africa', *New Monthly Magazine*, 111 (1857), 432-449
- 'Livingstone's missionary travels', *Ecclesiastic and Theologian*, 20 (1858), 80-85
- 'Livingstone's missionary travels', *Gentleman's Magazine and Historical Review*, 3 (1857), 623-634
- 'Livingstone's travels in Africa' *Scottish Review*, (1858), 45-53
- 'Miscellaneous literature. *Missionary Travels and Researches in South Africa*', *Rambler*, 9 (1858), 70
- 'Dr Livingstone's African researches', *British Quarterly Review*, 27 (1858), 105-132
- '*Missionary Travels and Researches in South Africa* [Review]', *London Quarterly Review*, 9 (1858), 431-458
- '*Missionary Travels and Researches in South Africa* [Review]', *North British Review*, 28 (1858), 257-266
- '*Missionary Travels and Researches in South Africa* [Review]', *Titan A Monthly Magazine*, 25 (1857), 727-736
- '*Missionary Travels and Researches in South Africa* [Review]', *Quarterly Journal of Prophecy*, 10 (1858), 85-86
- '*Missionary Travels and Researches in South Africa* [Review]', *Literary Gazette and Journal of Archaeology, Science, and Art*, 2130 (1857), 1087-1089
- 'Missionary travels and researches in South Africa, &c.', *Christian Remembrancer: A Quarterly Review*, 35 (1858), 130-158

- 'Missionary travels and researches in South Africa', *Tait's Edinburgh Magazine* 24 (1857), 720-730
- 'Missionary travels', *London University Magazine*, 3 (1858), 159-172
- 'New books. *Missionary Travels and Researches in South Africa*' *Nautical Magazine and Naval Chronicle*, 26 (1857), 682-684
- 'Reviews and notices of books. *Missionary Travels and Researches in South Africa*', *Lancet*, 1 (1858), 140-141
- 'Reviews and notices. *Missionary Travels and Researches in South Africa*', *Colonial Church Chronicle and Missionary Journal* (1858), 29-33
- 'Reviews and notices. *Missionary Travels and Researches in South Africa*', *British Medical Journal*, 2 (1858), 52-53
- 'Reviews. *Missionary Travels and Researches in South Africa*' *Athenaeum*, 1567 (1857), 1381-1385
- 'The Early Life of Dr Livingstone', *Quarterly Magazine of the Independent Order of Odd-Fellows*, 1 (1858), 309-313
- 'The Epic of Travel', *National Magazine*, 3 (1858), 242-245
- 'The literary examiner. *Missionary Travels and Researches in South Africa*', *Examiner*, 2598 (1857), 724
- 'The literary examiner. *Missionary Travels and Researches in South Africa*', *Examiner*, 2599 (1857), 740-741
- 'The literary examiner. *Missionary Travels and Researches in South Africa*', *Examiner*, 2600 (1857), 756-77
- 'The missionary explorer', *Blackwood's Edinburgh Magazine*, 83 (1858), 385-401
- 'The travels and researches of Dr Livingstone, the African missionary', *Home and Foreign Record of the Church of Scotland*, 3 (1858), 53
- 'Voyages and travels', *Critic*, 16 (1857), 509-511
- 'Voyages and travels', *Critic*, 16 (1857), 533-535

J.L.B. 'Dr Livingstone's missionary travels and researches in South Africa', *Edinburgh Christian Magazine*, 9 (1858), 302-309; 333-340; 375-380

T.C.S. 'Livingstone's travels in South Africa', *Fraser's Magazine for Town and Country*, 57 (1858), 118-132

France

----- 'Analyses, rapports, etc. *Missionary Travels and Researches in South Africa*', *Bulletin de la Société de Géographie*, 19 (1860), 273-309

----- 'Aventures du Dr Livingstone dans l'Afrique australe', *Flore des Serres et des Jardins de L'Europe, Journal Général D'Horticulture*, 3 (1858), 43-44

----- 'Dernières découvertes dans l'Afrique méridionale par le missionnaire Livingstone', *Revue Britannique*, 8 (1859), 33-83; 321-357.

----- 'Nouvelle découvertes du Docteur Livingstone', *La Tour du Monde: Nouvelle Journal des Voyages* 1 (1860), 62-64

A. Linas, 'Feuilleton. *Explorations dans l'Interior de l'Afrique australe*', *Gazette Hebdomadaire de Médecine et de Chirurgie Bulletin de l'Enseignement Médical*, 6 (1859), 129-135; 145-155

C.L. Chassin, 'Explorations dans l'Interior de l'Afrique australe', *Revue de l'Instruction Publique de la Littérature et des Sciences en France*, 43 (1859), 677-679, 708-711, 754-756

Laperrière 'Critique Littéraire. *Explorations dans l'Intérieur de l'Afrique australe*', *Journal Général de l'Instruction Publique*, 26 (1857), 146-147

India

----- 'Notices of books. *Missionary Travels and Researches in South Africa*', *Madras Journal of Literature and Science*, 3 (1858), 149-152

----- 'Livingstone's travels and researches in South Africa', *The Bombay Quarterly Review*, 7 (1857), 252-297

Ireland

----- 'Livingstone's "Missionary Travels"', *Dublin University Magazine, A Literary and Political Journal*, 51 (1858), 56-74

----- 'Livingstone's travels and researches', *Irish Quarterly Review*, 7 (1858), 1165-1216

----- 'Recent African explorations', *Dublin Review*, 44 (1858), 158-180

----- 'Reviews. *Missionary Travels and Researches in South Africa*', *Irish Literary Gazette*, 1(1857), 273-275

Italy

----- 'Recent esploratori dell Africa. Il Doctor David Livingstone', *Rivista di Firenze*, 4 (1858), 22-31

O. Tito, 'Viaggi del Reverendo Dottore David Livingstone Nell'Interno Dell'Africa', *Rivista Contemporanea*, 10 (1858), 431-436

Austria

----- 'Mittheilungen', *Oesterichische Boptanische Zeitschrift*, 10 (1860), 62-63

Germany

----- 'Geographie. Dr. D. Livingstone's Missionsreisen und Forschungen in Südafrika', *Pädagogischer Jahresbericht*, 12 (1859), 363-364

----- 'Länder und Völkunde. *Missionsreisen und Forschungen in Süd-Afrika während eines sechzehnjährigen Aufenthalts im Innern des Continents*', *Leipziger Repertorium der Deutschen und Ausländischen Literatur*, 65 (1859), 98-100

----- 'Literatur und kunst: reiseliteratur', *Deutsches Museum Zeitschrift für Literatur Kunst und Öffentliches Leben*, (1858), 918-922

----- 'Literatur. *Erforschungsreisen in Innern Afrikas* [Review]', *Berliner Revue* 16 (1859), 172

----- 'Livingstone's reisen in Südafrika', *Blätter für literaische Unterhaltung*, 1 (1859), 613-623

----- '*Missionsreisen und Forschungen in Süd-Afrika während eines sechzehnjährigen Aufenthaltes im Innern des Orientes* [Review]', *Heidelberger Jahrbücher der Literatur*, 51 (1858), 860-862

----- 'Neue bücher', *Bonplandia, Zeitschrift für die gesamte Botanik*, 6 (1858), 107-113

A. Petermann, 'Literatur', *Mittheilungen aus Justus Perthes' Geographischer Anstalt über wichtige neue erforschungen auf des Gesamtgebiete der Geographie* von Dr A. Petermann, (1858), 562

South Africa

----- 'Dr Livingstone's travels and researches', *Cape Monthly Magazine*, 13 (1858), 46-55

----- 'Dr Livingstone's travels and researches. Second Notice', *Cape Monthly Magazine*, 14 (1858), 120-123

Switzerland

----- 'Bulletin littéraire et bibliographique. France', *Bibliothèque Universelle Revue Suisse et Etrangère*, 5 (1859), 148

----- 'Bulletin littéraire et bibliographique. France', *Bibliothèque Universelle Revue Suisse et Etrangère*, 7 (1860), 326-327

----- 'Feuilleton. Note sur le voyage du docteur Livingstone dans l'intérieur de l'Afrique australe', *L'Union Médicale Journal des Interets Scientifique et Pratiques, Moraux et Professionnels*, 1 (1859), 113-118

----- 'Le Dr Livingstone', *Le Chrétien Évangélique au dix-neuvième siècle*, (1858) 33-37; 59-64; 103-106

J. Adr. Naville, 'Voyages d'un missionnaire dans l'Afrique Méridionale par David Livingstone', *Bibliothèque Universelle Revue Suisse et Etrangère*, 1 (1859), 183-220

Bibliography*

* See Appendix III for details of electronic resources consulted in the preparation of this thesis.

Primary Unpublished Sources

Archives of Harper and Brothers, British Library
Reel 22 'Priority List',

Archives of Macmillan and Co., British Library
Add. MS55839, Outgoing Correspondence
Add. MS55218, Correspondence of F. Galton
Add. MS55840, Outgoing Correspondence
Add. MS 55839, Outgoing Correspondence
Add. MS55382, Outgoing Correspondence
Add. MS55383(1), Outgoing Correspondence
Add. MS55381(2), Outgoing Correspondence
Add. MS55841, Outgoing Correspondence

Archives of Macmillan and Co., Reading University
MS 1089, Uncatalogued Correspondence, 1875-1967

Archives of the Royal Geographical Society

Additional Papers

RGS/AP/54-73, 'Expeditions Committee Minutes', 1852-1853
RGS/AP/54-73, Committee Minutes, 1841-1865
RGS/AP/MB, Committee Minute Book, 1872-1877
RGS/AP/MB, Committee Minute Book, 1877-1883
RGS/AP/MB, Council Minutes, 1877-1878, Royal Geographical Society

David Livingstone Collection

DL 2/15/1-13, Correspondence from David Livingstone to Henry Norton Shaw,
1853-57

Fellows' Correspondence

RGS/CB4/680, Francis Galton, Correspondence, 1855-1860
RGS/CB6/1274, E. Duffield Jones Correspondence, 1870-1880
RGS/CB6/1531, C.R. Markham, Correspondence, 1879-1880
RGS/CB6/1870, R.W. Rawson Correspondence, 1870-1880
RGS/CB6/2071, E. Stanford Correspondence, 1870-1880
RGS/CB6/2218, Trübner and Co. Correspondence, 1870-1880
RGS/CB6/592, R.N. Cust Correspondence, 1870-1880
RGS/CB6/854, D. Freshfield Correspondence, 1870-1880
RGS/CB6/864, Francis Galton, Correspondence, 1870-1880

Journal Manuscripts

JMS/21/20, 'Report of the Royal Geographical Society on Hints to Travellers' Hints to Travellers Sub-Committee Report (1853)

Sir Clements Markham Collection

RGS/CRM/47, C.R. Markham, 'The Royal Geographical Society: A personal history of the Society' [Handwritten MS, c.1903].

David Livingstone Papers, National Library of Scotland

MS20312, Correspondence of and to David Livingstone, 1841-1872

Galton Archive, University College London

GALTON/56, Francis Galton's diaries, passport, pocket books and engagement books, 1836-1906

GALTON/69, Papers and newspaper cuttings relating to Francis Galton's lectures and other material, 1855-1858

GALTON/114, Acquired papers and books, 1871

GALTON/190-192, Letters pasted in letterbooks, 1765-1923

GALTON/195, Correspondence with CJ Andersson, 1855-1862

GALTON/245, Correspondence to multiple recipients, 1855-1910

John Murray Archive National Library of Scotland

Acc. 12604/1435, Correspondence from F. Galton to J. Murray

MS40500, Correspondence of individuals and firms bearing initial 'H'

MS 41912, Outgoing Correspondence

MS 41913, Outgoing Correspondence

MSS42420, Letters of, to and concerning David Livingstone

MSS42422-23, Letters of and concerning David Livingstone's family

MS 42427, Proof of suppressed preface to *Missionary Travels*, 1857

MS 42431, Proof dedication for *Missionary Travels*, 1857

MS42721, Estimate Book (1850-1866)

MS42730, Copies Ledger E (1846-1876)

MS42732, Copies Ledger G (1870-1904)

MS42733, Copies Ledger H (1879-1934)

MS 42899, Copies Day Book (1853-1857)

Routledge & Kegan Paul, Ltd Archives, UCL

102, Trübner Publication Book, 1870-1893

108, Trübner Publication Book, 1868-1892

109, Trübner Publication Account Book, 1873-1888

Wellcome Library

MS 7329, Correspondence of David Livingstone

Primary Published Sources

Advertising

- (1855) 'Mr Murray's List of Recent Works, October 1855' [Advertisements] in *The Newcomes. Cut from the Quarterly Review*, 97, 7.
- (1855) 'Murray's Handbooks for Travellers', *Caledonian Mercury* (August 17), 8.
- (1855) 'Murray's Handbooks for Travellers', *Caledonian Mercury* (August 24), 1.
- (1855) 'Murray's Handbooks for Travellers', *Daily News* (July 10), 8.
- (1855) 'Murray's Handbooks for Travellers', *Daily News* (July 21), 8.
- (1855) 'W.H. Smith & Son's Subscription Library' in C. Idle, *Hints in Shooting and Fishing, &c. Both on Sea and Land, and in the Freshwater Lochs of Scotland*, London: Longman, Brown, Green, and Longmans.
- (1856) 'Black's Guide Book Advertiser, 1856' in *Black's Picturesque Tourist of Scotland*, Edinburgh: Adams and Charles Black.
- (1857) 'Christian Classics Advertiser' in J. Hamilton, *Our Christian Classics: Readings from the Best Divines, With Notices Biographical and Critical*, London: James Nisbit and Co..
- (1860) 'Macmillan and Co.'s List of New Works', *The Times*, November 24, 1860, 5.
- (1860) 'Macmillan and Co.'s List of New Works', *The Times*, December 4, 1860, 5.
- (1861) 'Advertisements and Notices', *Glasgow Herald*, (March 27), 1.
- (1861) 'Advertisements and Notices', *Glasgow Herald*, (September 5), 1.
- (1861) 'Advertisements and Notices', *Glasgow Herald*, (September 12) 1.
- (1861) 'Advertisements and Notices', *Glasgow Herald*, (October 3), 1.
- (1861) 'Advertisements and Notices', *Glasgow Herald*, (October 17), 1.
- (1861) 'Advertisements', *Examiner*, (March 16), 175.
- (1861) 'Art and Literary Gossip', *Supplement to the Manchester Times*, (February 23), 4.

- (1861) 'Classified Advertising'. *The Times*, April 4, 1861, 13.
- (1861) 'List of the Principal Works of the Present Season', *Derby Mercury*, November 6, 1861, 1.
- (1861) 'List of the Principal Works of the Present Season', *Derby Mercury*, November 27, 1861, 1.
- (1861) 'Mudies Select Library', *Examiner*, (April 6), 224.
- (1861) 'The Art of Travel', *Murray's Handbook Advertiser* (1861), in *Handbook for Travellers in France. Eight Edition, Revised and Corrected* (London: John Murray, 1861), 50.
- (1861) 'The Art of Travel', *Murray's Handbook Advertiser* (1861), in *Handbook for Travellers in Portugal. Second Edition* (London: John Murray, 1856), 50.
- (1861) 'The Art of Travel', *Murray's Handbook Advertiser* (1861), in *Handbook for Travellers in Northern Italy. Eight Edition*, (London: John Murray, 1860), 50.
- (1861) 'Town and County Library', *Derby Mercury*, (June 21, 1861), 8.
- (1862) 'Books for All Readers in Circulation at Cludlow's Subscription Library', *Derby Mercury*, (May 7), 1.
- (1862) 'Books for All Readers in Circulation at Cludlow's Subscription Library', *The Derby Mercury*, (May 28), 1.
- (1862) 'Books for Presents' in C. Arribavene *Italy under Victor Emmanuel A Personal Narrative*. Vol II, (London: Hurst and Blackett, Publishers).
- (1862) 'Town and County Library', *Derby Mercury*, (May 14), 8.
- (1863) 'Cheap Books at W.S. Simes', *Glasgow Herald*, (March 21), 2.
- (1863) 'Classified Advertising', *The Times*, June 18, 1863, 3.
- (1863) 'Classified Advertising', *The Times*, June 25, 1863, 3.
- (1863) 'Macmillan and Co.'s New List', *The Times*, (November 6), 12.
- (1863) 'Superior Cheap Books at Bull's Library', *The Times*, (June 5), 13.
- (1863) 'Superior Cheap Books at Bull's Library', *The Times*, (June 18), 3.
- (1864) 'Advertisements', *Aberdeen Journal*, (August 31), 4.

- (1864) 'Classified Advertising', *Examiner*, (August 6), 512.
- (1864) 'Macmillan & Co.'s New List', *Notes and Queries*, (January 9), no page.
- (1864) 'Macmillan & Co.'s New List', *Notes and Queries*, (March 12), no page.
- (1865) 'Mudie's Select Library', *Daily News*, (April 10), 8.
- (1865) 'Advertisements and Notices', *Derby Mercury*, (December 13), 8.
- (1865) 'Advertisements and Notices' *Derby Mercury*, (December 27), 1.
- (1865) 'Advertisements and Notices' *Derby Mercury*, (December 6), 8.
- (1865) 'Advertisements and Notices', *Derby Mercury*, (November 29), 4.
- (1865) 'Hiscoke & Son's Circulating Library, *Hiscoke and Son's Richmond Notes A Monthly Record of Local Information, for Richmond and its Neighbourhood*, 34, 148.
- (1866) 'Advertisements and Notices', *Derby Mercury*, (April 18), 1.
- (1866) 'Advertisements and Notices', *Derby Mercury*, (April 4), 1.
- (1866) 'Advertisements and Notices', *Derby Mercury*, (February 7), 1.
- (1866) 'Advertisements and Notices,' *Derby Mercury*, (January 10) 1.
- (1866) 'Advertisements and Notices', *Derby Mercury*, (January 24), 1.
- (1866) 'Advertisements and Notices', *Derby Mercury*, (March 21), 8.
- (1866) 'Mudies Select Library', *John Bull*, (March 10), 157.
- [c.1872] 'Our Ocean Highways Monthly Supplement [Periodical Prospectus]'
 John Johnson Collection: An Archive of Printed Ephemera, Prospectuses of
 Journals 40 (41) !
- (1872) 'Classified advertising' *The Times* (May 30), 14.
- (1872) 'Classified advertising', *The Times*, (June 1), 2.

Articles and Reviews

- (1831) 'Prospectus of the Royal Geographical Society', *Journal of the Royal Geographical Society*, 1, vi-xii.
- (1855) 'Contemporary literature', *Westminster Review* (American Edition) 63, 306.
- (1855) 'Housewife's corner', *Liverpool Mercury* (September 14), 11.
- (1855) 'How to see the world', *Chambers's Journal of Popular Literature Science and Arts*, 3, 374.
- (1855) 'The Arts of Travelling and Campaigning' *The Times*, September 25), 9.
- (1855) 'The camp at Aldershot', *Daily News*, (August 9), 8.
- (1855) 'The camp of Aldershot', *Examiner* (August 11), 511.
- (1855) 'The literary examiner', *Examiner* (April 14), 230.
- (1856) 'Arts of campaigning', *Cottager's Monthly Visitor*, 36, 174-177.
- (1856) 'Arts of travel and campaigning', *Saturday Review of Politics, Literature, Science and Art*, 1 (11), 197-198.
- (1856) 'Traveller's contrivances', *Household Words: A Weekly Journal Conducted by Charles Dickens*, 12, 505.
- (1857) 'Dr Livingstone's travels in Africa', *United Presbyterian Magazine*, 1, 550-558.
- (1857) 'Livingstone's African explorations', *Monthly Christian Spectator*, 7, 753-764.
- (1857) 'Livingstone's missionary travels', *Gentleman's Magazine and Historical Review*, 3, 623-634.
- (1857) 'Reviews. Missionary Travels and Researches in South Africa' *Athenaeum*, 1567, 1381-1385.
- (1857) 'Voyages and travels', *Critic*, 16, 509-511.
- (1857) 'Voyages and travels', *Critic*, 16, 533-535.
- (1857) *A Narrative of Dr Livingstone's Discoveries in South-Central Africa, from 1849 to 1856*, London: Routledge and Co.

- (1858) 'Barth and Livingstone on Central Africa', *New Englander*, 347-372.
- (1858) 'Critical notices. *Missionary Travels and Researches in South Africa*', *Evangelical Repository*, 4, 141.
- (1858) 'Critical notices. *Missionary Travels and Researches in South Africa*', *Southern Presbyterian Review*, 10, 636-643.
- (1858) 'Dr Livingstone's African researches', *British Quarterly Review*, 27, 105-132.
- (1858) 'Dr Livingstone's travel's in Africa', *Theological and Literary Journal*, 10, 636-660.
- (1858) 'Dr Livingstone's travels and researches. Second Notice', *Cape Monthly Magazine*, 14, 120-123.
- (1858) 'Dr Livingstone's travels and researches', *Cape Monthly Magazine*, 13, 46-55.
- (1858) 'Dr Livingstone's travels', *Christian Observer Conducted by Members of the Established Church*, 241, 48-64.
- (1858) 'Dr Livingstone's travels', *Scottish Congregational Magazine*, 8, 9-13.
- (1858) 'Literary review. *Dr Livingstone's Travels and Researches in South Africa*', *United States Democratic Review*, 42, 79-80.
- (1858) 'Livingstone's "Missionary Travels"', *Dublin University Magazine, A Literary and Political Journal*, 51, 56-74.
- (1858) 'Livingstone's travels and researches', *Irish Quarterly Review*, 7, 1165-1216.
- (1858) 'Livingstone's travels in South Africa', *Littell's Living Age*, 20, 1-7.
- (1858) 'Miscellaneous literature. *Missionary Travels and Researches in South Africa*', *Rambler*, 9, 70.
- (1858) '*Missionary Travels and Researches in South Africa* [Review]', *American Church Monthly*, 3, 145-150.
- (1858) '*Missionary Travels and Researches in South Africa* [Review]', *North British Review*, 28, 257-266.
- (1858) '*Missionary Travels and Researches in South Africa* [Review]', *Quarterly Journal of Prophecy*, 10, 85-86.

- (1858) 'Missionary travels and researches in South Africa, &c.', *Christian Remembrancer: A Quarterly Review*, 35, 130-158.
- (1858) 'New York literary correspondence', *Ladies' Repository: A Monthly Periodical Devoted to Literature, Arts, and Religion*, 18, 121-122.
- (1858) 'Original communications', *Ohio Medical and Surgical Journal*, 10, 273-297.
- (1858) 'Recent researches in Africa', *North American Review*, 86, 530-563.
- (1858) 'Review and criticism. *Missionary Travels and Researches in South Africa*', *Presbyterian Magazine*, 8, 187-188.
- (1858) 'Reviews and notices. *Missionary Travels and Researches in South Africa*', *Colonial Church Chronicle and Missionary Journal*, 29-33.
- (1858) 'The missionary explorer', *Blackwood's Edinburgh Magazine*, 83, 385-401.
- (1858) 'The travels and researches of Dr Livingstone, the African missionary', *Home and Foreign Record of the Church of Scotland*, 3, 53.
- (1859) 'Bulletin littéraire et bibliographique. France', *Bibliothèque Universelle Revue Suisse et Etrangère*, 5, 148.
- (1859) 'L'Afrique ouverte [Review]', *Revue Critique des Livres Nouveaux* 27, 118-119.
- (1859) 'Literatur. *Erforschungsreisen in Innern Afrikas* [Review]', *Berliner Revue* 16, 172.
- (1859) 'Livingstone's Reisen in deutschem Gewände', *Magazin für die Literatur des Auslandes* 56, 52.
- (1859) 'Lodgings, food, and dress of soldiers', *Quarterly Review*, 105, 163.
- (1860) 'Bulletin littéraire et bibliographique. France', *Bibliothèque Universelle Revue Suisse et Etrangère*, 7, 326-327.
- (1860) 'Geographical discovery in Eastern Africa', *Hunt's Merchant's Magazine and Commercial Review*, 43, 154-166.
- (1860) 'Nouvelle découvertes du docteur Livingstone', *Le Tour du Monde. Nouvelle Journal des Voyages*, 1, 62-64.
- (1861) 'Art and literary gossip', *Supplement to the Manchester Times*, (February 23), 4.

- (1861) 'By land and sea. The travellers', *St James's Magazine*, I, 484-494.
- (1861) 'Literary Gossip', *Lloyd's Weekly Newspaper*, January 27, 1861, 8.
- (1861) 'Literature', *Aberdeen Journal*, March 6, 1861, 6.
- (1861) 'Miscellaneous', *Critic*, 22, 377-378.
- (1861) 'Notes of travel', *The Times*, April 4, 1861, 12.
- (1861) 'The literary examiner', *Examiner*, March 23, 1861, 181-182.
- (1861) 'Vacation Tourists and Notes of Travel in 1860 [Review]', *North American Review*, 93, 271.
- (1861) 'Vacation Tourists and Notes of Travel in 1860', *Notes and Queries*, March 9, 1861.
- (1861) 'Vacation Tourists and Notes of Travel', *Athenaeum*, 1743, 390-392.
- (1861) 'Vacation Tourists and Notes of Travel in 1860', *London Review and Weekly Journal of Politics, Literature, Art, and Society*, 2, 494.
- (1862) 'Literary Review', *John Bull*, May 31, 1862, 347.
- (1862) 'Literature' *Daily News*, June 28, 1862, 4.
- (1862) 'Literature', *Era*, May 25, 6.
- (1862) 'Mountains and climbers', *Christian Remembrancer: A Quarterly Review*, 42, 361-380.
- (1862) 'Recent books of travel', *North American Review*, 95, 559.
- (1863) 'The traveller's companion', *The Reader*, 18, 444.
- (1864) 'Epilogue on books', *British Quarterly Review*, 40, 512.
- (1864) 'Literature', *Daily News*, November 2, 1864, 2.
- (1864) 'Vacation Tourists – 1862-3', *Mornings of the Recess. 1861-64. A Series of Biographical and Literary Papers Reprinted, by Permission, from The Times*, London: Tinsley Brothers, 229-257.
- (1864) 'Vacation Tourists and Notes of Travel, in 1862-3', *Athenaeum*, 1917, 104-05.
- (1864) 'Vacation Tourists', *Ecclesiastic*, 26, 400-410.

- (1864) 'Vacation Tourists,' *Reader*, 4, 161.
- (1865) 'Brief literary notices', *London Quarterly Review*, 23, 246-248.
- (1868) 'The *Art of Travel*; or Shifts and Contrivances Available in Wild Countries', *New Sporting Magazine*, 329, 222-227.
- (1867) 'Geographical notes', *Athenaeum*, (2537), 799.
- (1872) 'Reviews. Mr Stanley's expedition', *Ocean Highways: The Geographical Record*, 2 (9), 280-281.
- (1874) 'Notes on the monthlies', *Examiner* (August 8), 859.
- (1875) 'Magazines', *Graphic* (September 18), 286.
- (1876) 'Mr Stanley's proceedings in the Lake Region of Central Africa', *Geographical Magazine* 9, 247.
- (1876) 'Notes of travel', *Academy* (June 17), 584.
- (1876) 'Scientific serials', *The American Naturalist* 10, 63-64 and 68-69.
- (1877) 'Mr Stanley's voyage down the Congo', *Geographical Magazine*, 5, 318-319.
- (1878) 'Mr Stanley', *Geographical Magazine*, 8, 53.
- Burton, R.F. (1875) 'Mr Stanley's expedition', *Athenaeum* 2509, 712-713.
- Burton, R.F. (1875) 'Mr Burton and the Victoria Nyanza. Letter to the Editor' *Geographical Magazine* 2, 354-355.
- Burton, R.F. (1875) 'Mr Stanley's expedition', *Athenaeum* 2509, 712-713.
- Burton, R.F. (1884) 'Spanish and Portuguese South America during the Colonial Period [Review]' *Academy* (628), 343.
- Chassin, C.L. (1859) 'Explorations dans l'Interior de l'Afrique australe [Review]', *Revue de l'Instruction Publique de la Literature et des Sciences*, 43, 677-679.
- Dalyell, R.A.O. (1863) 'Memoranda. Earthquake of Erzerúm, June 1859', *Journal of the Royal Geographical Society*, 33, 234-37.
- F.G. (Francis Galton] 'The Prairie Traveller', *The Reader*, 10 (1863), 237.

- F.R.G.S. (1872) 'The East, Manchuria and Beloochistan', *Our Ocean Highways: Monthly Supplement to the Annual Volume Geographical Record & Travellers Register*, 2 (1), 1-2.
- Galton, F. (1854) 'Hints to Travellers', *Journal of the Royal Geographical Society* 24, 345-6.
- Hamilton, W.R. (1838) 'Presidential Address', *Journal of the Royal Geographical Society*, 8, xxxvii-lxi.
- [Huttmann, W.] (1828) 'Original correspondence: geographical society proposed' *The Literary Gazette and Journal of Belles Lettres, Arts, Sciences, &c.*, 12, 600.
- J.L.B. (1858) 'Dr Livingstone's missionary travels and researches in South Africa', *Edinburgh Christian Magazine*, 9, 302-309; 333-340; 375-380.
- Jerdan, W. (1828) 'To correspondents', *The Literary Gazette and Journal of Belles Lettres, Arts, Sciences, &c.*, 12, 334.
- Jerdan, W. (1830) 'Geography: new society', *The Literary Gazette and Journal of Belles Lettres, Arts, Sciences, &c.*, 14, 305.
- Kilpatrick, Dr. (1859) 'The African El Dorado', *De Bow's Review, Agricultural, Commercial, Industrial Progress and Resources*, 26, 503-513.
- Markham, C.R. (1873-1874) 'Preface', *Ocean Highways: The Geographical Review* 1, iii-iv.
- Markham, C.R. (1878) 'A farewell to our readers' *The Geographical Magazine*, 12 (1878), 301-302.
- Marksman, Retired Major (1859) 'Peeps from the loopholes of retreat' *Colburn's United Service Magazine, and Naval and Military Journal*, 580.
- Napier, W.C.E. (Chair) (1862), Council of Military Education, 'First Report on Army Schools, Libraries and Recreation Rooms', House of Commons Parliamentary Papers, Command Paper 2957, 32.389.
- Petermann, A. (1858) 'Literatur', *Mittheilungen aus Justus Perthes' Geographischer Anstalt über wichtige neue Erforschungen auf des Gesamtgebiete der Geographie von Dr A. Petermann*, 562.
- Ravenstein, E.G. (1875) 'Stanley's exploration of the Victoria Nyanza', *Geographical Magazine* 2, 369.
- Rawlinson, H. (1871-1872) 'Address to the Royal Geographical Society', *Proceedings of the Royal Geographical Society of London* 16 (4), 291-377.

Rawlinson, H. (1884) 'Royal Asiatic Society. Proceedings of the Sixty-First Anniversary Meeting of the Society' *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society of Great Britain and Ireland* NS 16 (4), i-clvii.

Samuelson, J. (1863) 'Barmouth', *The Popular Science Review: A Quarterly Miscellany of Entertaining and Instructive Articles on Scientific Subjects*, 2, 28-36.

T.C.S. (1858) 'Livingstone's Travels in South Africa [Review]', *Fraser's Magazine for Town and Country*, 57, 118.

Books, Book Chapters and Serials

----- (1855) *Cambridge Essays, contributed by Members of the University*, London: John W. Parker and Sons.

----- (1855) *Oxford Essays, contributed by Members of the University*, London: John W. Parker and Sons.

----- (1856) *Handbook for Travellers in Portugal. Second Edition*, London: John Murray.

----- (1859) 'Peaks, Passes and Glaciers: A Series of Excursions by Members of the Alpine Club', *Notes on Books: Being an Analysis of the Works Published During Each Quarter by Messrs. Longman and Co.*, 1 (17), 273-275.

----- (1859) *Erforschungsreisen im Innern Afrikas. In Schilderungen der bekanntesten älteren und neueren Reisen insbesondere der großen Entdeckungen im südlichen Afrika während der Jahre 1840 – 1856 durch Dr David Livingstone* Leipzig: O. Spamer.

----- (1860) 'Livingstone. Erforschungsreisen in Afrika, unser "Buch der Reisen", II Band' in *Erforschungsreisen in Innern Afrika's in Schilderungen der bekanntesten älteren und neueren Reisen insbesondere der großen Entdeckungen im südlichen Afrika während der Jahre 1840 – 1856 durch Dr David Livingstone*, Leipzig: O. Spamer.

----- (1860) *Handbook for Travellers in Northern Italy. Eighth Edition*, London: John Murray.

----- (1861) *Handbook for Travellers in France. Eighth Edition, Revised and Corrected*, London: John Murray.

Adams, H.G. (1857) *Dr Livingstone: His life and Adventures in the Interior of South Africa: Comprising a Description of the Regions which he Traversed; an Account of Missionary Pioneers; and Chapters on Cotton Cultivation, Slavery, Wild Animals, etc. etc.*, London: Houlston and Wright.

- Alexander, J.E. (1857) *Passages in the Life of a Soldier, or, Military Service in the East and West, Volume 2*, London: Hurst and Blackett.
- Andersson, C.J. (1858) *Reisen in Südwest-Afrika bis zum See Ngami in den Jahren 1850-1854*, H. Lotze (trans.) 2 vols, Leipzig: H. Costenoble.
- Ball, J. (1859) 'Preface', *Peaks, Passes and Glaciers: A Series of Excursions by Members of the Alpine Club*, v-xii.
- Barth, H. (1857-1858) *Travels and Discoveries in North and Central Africa*, 5 vols, London: Longman, Brown, Green, Longmans and Roberts.
- Barth, H. (1857-1859) *Travels and Discoveries in North and Central Africa*, 3 vols, New York: Harper and Brothers.
- Bates, H.W. (ed.) (1869-1874) *Illustrated Travels: A Record of Geography, Discovery and Adventure*, London: Cassell, Peter and Galpin.
- Bell, J.D., 'A nation of the future', *Ladies' Repository: A Monthly Periodical Devoted to Literature, Arts, and Religion* 20 (1860), 614-620.
- Burton, R. (1863) 'Editor's Preface' in R.B. Marcy, *The Prairie Traveler. A Handbook for Overland Expeditions*, Burton, R. (ed.) London: Trübner and Co..
- Burton, R.F. (1860) *The Lake Regions of Central Africa*, London: Longman, Green, Longman and Roberts.
- Burton, R.F. (1862) *Voyage aux grand lacs de l'Afrique orientale*, H. Loreau (trans.), Paris: Hachette.
- [Clark, W.G.] (1855) 'Preface' in *Cambridge Essays, contributed by Members of the University*, London: John W. Parker and Sons.
- Coombs, J.H. (ed.) (1857) *Dr Livingstone's 17 Years' Explorations and Adventures in the Wilds of Africa*, Philadelphia: J.T. Lloyd & Co., 1857.
- Dempsey, J.M. and Hughes, W. (eds.) (1871) *Our Ocean Highways: A Condensed Universal Hand Gazetteer and International Route Book, By Ocean, Road or Rail*, London: Edward Stanford, 1871.
- Francis, J.C. (1909) *Notes by the Way with Memoirs of Joseph Knight and the Rev. Woodfall Ebsworth* London: T. Fisher Unwin.
- Galton, F. (1853) *The Narrative of an Explorer in Tropical South Africa*, London: John Murray.

- Galton, F. (1855) *Arts of Campaigning: An Inaugural Lecture, Delivered at Aldershot, on the Opening of his Museum and Laboratory in the South Camp*, London: John Murray.
- Galton, F. (1855) *The Art of Travel or, Shifts and Contrivances Available in Wild Countries*, London: John Murray.
- Galton, F. (1856) *The Art of Travel or, Shifts and Contrivances in Wild Countries*, 2nd Edition, London: John Murray.
- Galton, F. (1860) *The Art of Travel or, Shifts and Contrivances in Wild Countries*, 3rd Edition, London: John Murray.
- Galton, F. (1861) 'Preface', *Vacation Tourists and Notes of Travel in 1860* Cambridge: Macmillan and Co., v-vi.
- Galton, F. (1864) 'Preface', *Vacation Tourists and Notes of Travel in 1862-3*, Cambridge: Macmillan and Co..
- Galton, F. (1867) *The Art of Travel or, Shifts and Contrivances in Wild Countries*, 4th Edition, London: John Murray.
- Galton, F. (1872) *The Art of Travel or, Shifts and Contrivances in Wild Countries*, 5th Edition, London: John Murray.
- Galton, F. (1908) *Memories of My Life*, London: Methuen.
- Galton, F. (2001) *The Art of Travel or, Shifts and Contrivances Available in Wild Countries [1872]*. Introduction by Dorothy Middleton, London: Phoenix Press.
- Galton, F. (ed.) (1861) *Vacation Tourists and Notes of Travel in 1860* Cambridge: Macmillan and Co..
- Galton, F. (ed.) (1862) *Vacation Tourists and Notes of Travel in 1861* Cambridge: Macmillan and Co..
- Galton, F. (ed.) (1864) *The Knapsack Guide for Travellers in Switzerland*, London: John Murray.
- Galton, F. (ed.) (1864) *Vacation Tourists and Notes of Travel in 1862-3* Cambridge: Macmillan and Co..
- Galton, F. (ed.) (1865) *A Handbook for Travellers' in Switzerland, and the Alps of Savoy and Piedmont*, Eleventh Edition, London: John Murray.
- Harper, J.H. (1912) *The House of Harper: A Century of Publishing in Franklin Square*, New York and London: Harper and Brothers.

- Heinemann, H. (1884), 'Nicholas Trübner' *The Bibliographer. A Journal of Book-Lore* 5 (1884), 172-174.
- Herschel, J.F.W. (1849) *A Manual of Scientific Enquiry; Prepared for the Use of Officers in Her Majesty's Navy; and Travellers in General*, London: John Murray.
- Hyndman, H.M. (1911), *Record of an Adventurous Life*, New York: The Macmillan Company.
- Jackson, J.R. (1841) *What to Observe; or, a Traveller's Remembrancer*, London: James Madden and Co..
- Jerdan, W. (1853) *The Autobiography of William Jerdan with his Literary, Political, and Social Reminiscences and Correspondence During the Last Fifty Years*, Vol 4, London: Arthur Hall Virtue & Co..
- Jerdan, W. (1866) *Men I Have Known*, London: George Routledge and Sons.
- Livingstone, D. (1857) *Missionary Travels and Researches in South Africa Including a Sketch of Sixteen Years' Residence in the Interior of Africa and a Journey from the Cape of Good Hope to Loanda on the West Coast; Thence Across the Continent, Down the River Zambesi, to the Eastern Ocean*, London: John Murray.
- Livingstone, D. (1858) *Missionsreisen und Forschungen in Süd-Afrika während eines sechzehnährigen Aufenthalts im Innern des Continents*, H. Lotze (trans.), 2 vols, Leipzig: Costenoble.
- Livingstone, D. (1859) *Explorations dans l'intérieur de l'Afrique australe*, H. Loreau (trans.) Paris: Hachette.
- Livingstone, D. (1859) *Livingstone's Travels and Researches in South Africa*, Philadelphia: J.W. Bradley.
- Livingstone, D. (1861) *A Popular Account of Missionary Travels and Researches in South Africa*, London: John Murray.
- Livingstone, D. and Livingstone, C. (1865) *Narrative of an Expedition to the Zambesi and its Tributaries; and of the Discovery of the Lakes Shirwa and Nyassa, 1858-1864*, London: John Murray.
- Livingstone, D. and Livingstone, C. (1866) *Explorations du Zambèse et de ses affluents*, H. Loreau (trans.), Paris: Hachette.
- Lord, W.B. and Baines, T. (1871) *Shifts and Expedients of Camp Life, Travel and Exploration*, London: Horace Cox.

- Marcy, R.B. (1859) *The Prairie Traveler. A Hand-Book for Overland Expeditions. With Maps, Illustrations, and Itineraries of the Principal Routes between the Mississippi and Pacific*, New York: Harper and Brothers.
- Marcy, R.B. (1860) *Prairie and Overland Traveller: A Companion for Emigrants, Hunters and Soldiers Traversing Great Plains and Prairies*, London: Sampson and Low.
- Marcy, R.B. (1863) *The Prairie Traveler. A Hand-Book for Overland Expeditions*, ed. R. Burton, London: Trübner and Co..
- Markham, C.R. (1873) *The Threshold of the Unknown Region*, Second Edition, London: Sampson Low, Marston, Low & Searle.
- Markham, C.R. (ed.) (1874-1878), *Geographical Magazine*, London: Trübner & Co., 1874-1878.
- Markham, C.R. (1881) *The Fifty Years' Work of the Royal Geographical Society*, London: John Murray.
- Mumm, A.L. (1923) *The Alpine Club Register, 1857-1863*, London: Edward Arnold.
- Paumier, H. (1858) *L'Afrique ouverte ou une esquisse des decouvertes du Dr Livingstone*, Paris: Meyrueis et Cie.
- Pinkerton, J. (1808-1814) *General Collection of the Best and Most Interesting Voyages and Travels in all Parts of the World*, London: Longman, Hurst, Rees, Orme and Brown, and Cadell and Davies.
- Royal Geographical Society, (1860) 'Fellows of the Royal Geographical Society of London' *Journal of the Royal Geographical Society of London*, 30, xxii-lxxiii.
- Spamer, O. (1859) *Vehme oder Justiz? Appellation an die öffentliche Meinung im Betreff eines Gutachtens des Leipziger Sachverständigen-Vereins I. Section vom 10. November 1858, wodurch dieselbe den Inhalt des angeklagten Buchs: "Livingstone, der Missionär" etc. für gesetzmässig erklärt und dennoch dessen Verleger aufs empfindlichste an der Ehre kränkt, eine Streitschrift zu seiner Rechtfertigung und im Interesse des gesamten deutschen Buchhandels geschrieben von Otto Spamer*, Leipzig: O. Spamer.
- Yule, H. and Hyndman, H.M. (1878) *Mr Henry M. Stanley and the Royal Geographical Society*, London: Bickers.

Library Catalogues

- (1862) *Plymouth Public Library A Catalogue of the Books, &c. Added to the Library from 1854 to 1861*, Plymouth: Printed by Thomas Jenkins.
- (1863) *A Catalogue of the books in the Birmingham library, with a copy of the laws and a list of the proprietors*, Birmingham.
- (1865) *The Catalogue of the Melbourne Public Library, Supplementary Catalogue for 1865*, Melbourne: John Ferres.
- (1866) *Cardiff Free Library and Museum. Catalogue of the Free Lending Library, The Reference Library, and the Boys' Library*, Cardiff: "Cardiff Times" Steam Printing Office.
- (1866) *Index to the Catalogue of Books in the Bates Hall of the Public Library of Boston. First Supplement*, Boston: J.E. Farwell & Co..
- (1868) *Index-Catalogue to the Books in the Nottingham Free Library, containing a reference to the headings of, authors, titles, and subjects in one alphabet. Third Supplementary Index Catalogue*, Nottingham.
- (1871) *A Catalogue of Books in the Library of the Society of Solicitors in the Supreme Courts of Scotland*, Edinburgh: Chapman.
- (1873) *Catalogue of the Public Library of Indianapolis*, Indianapolis: Press of Printing Publishing House.
- Cutter, C.A. (1876) *Catalogue of the Library of the Boston Athenaeum 1807-1871*, Boston.
- Mercantile Library Association of the City of New-York (1866) *Catalogue of Books in the Mercantile Library, of the City of New York*, New York: F.F. Taylor, Printer and Stationer.
- New South Wales State Library (1876) *Catalogue of the Free Public Library*, Sydney, Sydney.
- Smith, C.M. and Rankin, G.W. (1874) *Catalogue of the Public Library of the City of Fall River*, Boston: Rand, Avery & Co..

Published Correspondence

- Thornton, G. to Thornton, R., May 3, 1861. Thornton Material, MS 2, Brenthurst Library. Published in M. Boucher (ed.) *Livingstone Letters, 1843 to 1872: David Livingstone Correspondence in Brenthurst Library, Johannesburg*, (South Africa: The Brenthurst Press, 1985), 55.

Secondary Sources

- Adams, T.R. and Barker, N. (1993) 'A new model for the study of the book' in N. Barker (ed.), *A Potencie of Life: Books in Society* (London: The British Library, 1993), 5-44.
- Altholz, J.F. (1977) 'Periodical origins & implications of "Essays and Reviews"', *Victorian Periodicals Newsletter*, 10, 140-154.
- Altick, R.D. (1957) *The English Common Reader*, Chicago: University of Chicago Press.
- Amory, H. and Hall, D. (eds.) (2007) *A History of the Book in America: The Colonial Book in the Atlantic World*, North Carolina: University of North Carolina Press.
- Anderson, O. (1971) 'The growth of Christian militarism in Mid-Victorian Britain', *The English Historical Review* 86, 46-72.
- Baigent, E. (2004) 'Findlay, Alexander George, the younger (1812-1875)', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, Online Edition, Oxford University Press, Accessed 10 September 2011.
- Baigent, E. (2004) 'Hughes, William (1818-1876)', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, Online Edition, Oxford University Press, Accessed 01 Sept 2011.
- Barnett, C. (1998) 'Impure and worldly geography: the Africanist discourse of the Royal Geographical Society, 1831-73', *Transactions of the Institute of British Geographers*, 23, 239-251.
- Barringer, T. (1996) 'Fabricating Africa: Livingstone and the visual image 1850-1874' in MacKenzie, M.J. (ed.), *David Livingstone and the Victorian Encounter with Africa*, London: National Portrait Gallery, 169-200.
- Barthes, R. (2006) 'The death of the author' in D. Finkelstein and A. McCleery (eds.), *The Book History Reader*, London: Routledge, 277-280.
- Barton, R. (1998) 'Just before Nature: the purposes of science and the purposes of popularization in some English popular science journals of the 1860s', *Annals of Science*, 55, 1-33.
- Beauchamp, K.G. (2001) *History of Telegraphy*, Edison, N.J: Institute of Engineering and Technology.
- Beetham, M. (1989) 'Open and closed: the periodical as a publishing genre', *Victorian Periodicals Review* 22, 66-100.
- Bell, B. (1999) 'Victorian paratexts', *Victorian Literature and Culture*, 27, 327-335.

- Bell, M., Butlin, R.A. and Heffernan, M.J., (1995) 'Introduction: geography and imperialism, 1820-1940 in Bell, M., Butlin, R.A. and Heffernan, M.J. (eds.), *Geography and Imperialism, 1820-1940*, Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1-12.
- Benedict, B.M. (2001) 'The eighteenth-century anthology and the construction of the expert reader', *Poetics*, 28, 377-397.
- Benedict, B.M. (2003) 'The paradox of the anthology: collecting and *différance* in eighteenth-century Britain', *New Literary History*, 34 (2003), 231-256.
- Black, F.A. (2010) 'Constructing the spaces of print culture: book historians' visualization preferences' in M. Ogborn and C.W.J. Withers (eds.), *Geographies of the Book*, Farnham: Ashgate, 79-110.
- Black, F.A., MacDonald, B.H. and Black, J.M.W. (1998) 'Geographic information systems: a new research method for book history,' *Book History*, 1, 11-31.
- Black, M.H. and Johnson, G. (2000) *Cambridge University Press, 1584-1984*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Blanco, R.L. (1966) 'Education reforms for the enlisted man in the army of Victorian England', *History of Education Society* 6, 61-72.
- Boardman, K. (2006) "'Charting the golden stream": Recent work on Victorian periodicals', *Victorian Studies*, 48, 505-517.
- Brake, L. (1986) 'Literary Criticism and the Victorian periodicals' *The Yearbook of English Studies*, 16, 92-116.
- Brake, L. (2001) *Print in Transition 1850-1910*, Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan.
- Bridges, R. (1998) 'Explorers' texts and the problem of reactions by non-literate peoples: some nineteenth-century East African examples', *Studies in Travel Writing*, 2, 65-84.
- Bridges, R.C. and Hair, P.E.H. (1996) *Compassing the Vaste Globe of the Earth: Studies in the History of the Hakluyt Society, 1846-1996: With a Complete List of the Society's Publications*, London: Hakluyt Society.
- Brosseau, M. (1994) 'Geography's literature', *Progress in Human Geography*, 18, 333-353.
- Buzard, J. (1993) 'A continent of pictures: reflections on the "Europe" of nineteenth-century tourists,' *PMLA*, 108, 30-44.
- Buzard, J. (1993) *The Beaten Track: European Tourism, Literature, and the Ways to 'Culture' 1800-1918*, Oxford: Oxford University Press.

- Cain, M.T. (1994) 'The maps of the Society for the Diffusion of Useful Knowledge: a publishing history', *Imago Mundi* 46, 151-167.
- Cantor, G., Dawson, G., Noakes, R. Shuttleworth, S. and Topham, J.R. (2004) 'Introduction' in Henson, L., Cantor, G. Dawson, G., Noakes, R., Shuttleworth, S. and Topham, J.R. (eds.), *Culture and Science in Nineteenth-Century Media*, Aldershot: Ashgate, xvii-xxv.
- Cavell, J. (2008) *Tracing the Connected Narrative: Arctic Exploration in British Print Culture, 1818-1860*, Toronto and London: University of Toronto Press.
- Chartier, R. (1994) *The Order of Books: Readers, Authors and Libraries in Europe*, California: Stanford University Press.
- Chartier, R. (2005) 'Crossing borders in early modern Europe: sociology of texts and literature', M. Elton (trans.) *Book History* 8, 37-50.
- Chartier, R. (2006) 'Labourers and voyagers: from the text to the reader' in D. Finkelstein and A. McCleery (eds.), *The Book History Reader*, London: Routledge, 87-98.
- Crone, G.R. (1955) 'The library of the Royal Geographical Society', *Geographical Journal*, 121, 27-32.
- Cutmore, J.B. (1994) 'Sir John Barrow's contributions to the *Quarterly Review* 1809-24', *Notes and Queries*, 41, 326-328.
- Darnton, R. (1990) 'What is the history of books?' in R. Darnton, *The Kiss of Lamourette: Reflections in Cultural History*, New York: W.W. Norton & Company, 107-135.
- Darnton, R. (2007) *The Case for Books: Past, Present and Future* (New York: Public Affairs, 2009).
- Darnton, R. (2007) "'What is the history of books?'" Revisited', *Modern Intellectual History* 4, 495-508.
- Dawson, G. and Topham, J.R. (2004) 'Science in the nineteenth-century periodical', *Literature Compass*, 1, 1-11.
- Dawson, G., Noakes, R. and Topham, J.R. (2004), 'Introduction' in G.N. Cantor, G. Dawson and G. Gooday (eds.), *Science in the Nineteenth Century Periodical: Rereading the Magazine of Nature*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1-36.
- De Marco, E.S. (2010) *Reading and Riding: Hachette's Railroad Bookstore Network in Nineteenth-Century France*, Cranbury NJ: Associated University Presses.

- Dean, W. (2002) *Brazil and the Struggle for Rubber*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Dramer, P.J.S. and Prain, D. (1914) 'The introduction of Para to Buitenzorg' *Bulletin of Miscellaneous Information (Royal Gardens, Kew)* 4, 162-165.
- Driver, F. (1991) 'Henry Morton Stanley and his critics: geography, exploration and empire', *Past & Present* 133, 134-166.
- Driver, F. (1998) 'Scientific exploration and the production of geographical knowledge,' *Finisterra*, 33, 21-30.
- Driver, F. (2001) *Geography Militant: Cultures of Exploration and Empire*, Oxford: Blackwell.
- Driver, F. (2007) 'Missionary Travels: Africa and the book', Public lecture, *Great Books on Africa* series, University of Basel.
- Duncan, J. and Gregory, D. (eds.), *Writes of Passage Reading Travel Writing*, London: Routledge, 1999.
- Durden, R.F. (1951) 'J.D.B. De Bow: convolutions on slavery', *Journal of Southern History*, 17, 441-461.
- Eisenstein, E. (1980) *The Printing Press as an Agent of Change. Communications and Cultural Transformations in Early-Modern Europe*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Eliot, S. (1994) *Some Patterns and Trends in British Publishing, 1800-1919*, London: Bibliographical Society.
- Eliot, S. (1995) 'Some trends in British book production, 1800-1919' in J.O. Jordan and R.L. Patten (eds.), *Literature in the Marketplace: Nineteenth-Century British Publishing and Reading Practices*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 19-43.
- Eliot, S. (2002) "'To You in Your Vast Business': Some features of the quantitative history of Macmillan, 1843-91' in E. James (ed.) *Macmillan: A Publishing Tradition* Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 11-51.
- Eliot, E. (2003) 'Very necessary but not quite sufficient: A personal view of quantitative analysis in book history', *Book History* 5, 283-293.

Eliot, S. (2008) 'Circulating libraries in the Victorian age and after' in A. Black and P. Hoare (eds.) *The Cambridge History of Libraries in Britain and Ireland Volume III: 1850-2000*, Cambridge Histories Online: Cambridge University Press,

Accessed September 2011

Eliot, S. and Rose, J. (eds.) (2009), *A Companion to the History of the Book*, Oxford: Blackwell Publishing Ltd.

Feather, J. (1994) *Publishing, Piracy and Politics: An Historical Study of Copyright in Britain*, London: Mansell.

Feather, J. (2006) *A History of British Publishing*, London: Routledge.

Febvre, L. and Martin, H. (1976) *The Coming of the Book: The Impact of Print, 1450-1800*, London: Verso.

Findlen, P. (2005) 'The two cultures of scholarship?' *Isis* 96, 230-237.

Finkelstein, D. (2002) 'Africa rewritten: the case of John Hanning Speke' in D. Finkelstein, *The House of Blackwood: Author Publisher Relations in the Victoria Era*, Pennsylvania, Pennsylvania University Press, 49-69.

Finkelstein, D. (2009) 'Globalization of the book, 1800-1970' in S. Eliot and J. Rose (eds.) *A Companion to the History of the Book*, Oxford: Blackwell, 329-340.

Finkelstein, D. and McCleery, A. (2006) *An Introduction to Book History*, New York: Routledge.

Finkelstein, D. and McCleery, A. (2006) 'Introduction' in D. Finkelstein and A. McCleery, *The Book History Reader*, London: Routledge, 1-6.

Finkelstein, D. and McCleery, A. (eds.) (2006) *The Book History Reader*, London: Routledge.

Fish, S.E. (1980) *Is There a Text in This Class? The Authority of Interpretive Communities*, Harvard: Harvard University Press.

Fyfe, A. (2004) 'Periodicals and book series: complementary aspects of a publisher's mission' in Henson, L., Cantor, G. Dawson, G., Noakes, R., Shuttleworth, S. and Topham, J. (eds.), *Culture and Science in the Nineteenth-Century Media*, Aldershot: Ashgate Publishing Ltd, 71-82.

Gardiner, L. (1976) *Bartholomew: 150 Years*, Edinburgh: John Bartholomew & Son, Ltd.

- Genette, G. (1997) *Paratexts: Thresholds of Interpretation*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Genette, G. and Maclean, M. (1991) 'Introduction to the paratext', *New Literary History*, 22, 261-272.
- Gilham, N. *A Life of Sir Francis Galton: From African Exploration to the Birth of Eugenics* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2001), 93-99.
- Greg, W.W. (1914) 'What is Bibliography?', *Transactions of the Bibliographical Society*, 12, 39-53.
- Greg, W.W. (1966) 'Bibliography – an apologia' in J.C Maxwell (ed.), *Collected Papers*, Oxford: Clarendon Press, 239-266.
- Gregory, D. (1999) 'Scripting Egypt: Orientalism and cultures of travel' in Duncan, J. and Gregory, D. (eds.), *Writes of Passage Reading Travel Writing*, London: Routledge, 114-150.
- Hackel, H.B. (2005) *Reading Material in Early Modern England: Print, Gender, and Literacy*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Hamburger, J. (2004) 'Austin, Sarah (1793–1867)', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, Online Edition, Oxford University Press.
- Hansen, P.H. (1991) 'British Mountaineering, 1850-1914', Unpublished Ph.D. Thesis, Harvard University.
- Hansen, P.H. (1995) 'Albert Smith and the invention of mountaineering in mid-Victorian Britain', *Journal of British Studies*, 300-324.
- Haynes, C. (2005) 'Re-assessing "genius" in studies of authorship: the state of the discipline', *Book History*, 8, 287-320.
- Haynes, C. (2010) 'Louise Hachette and the defence of the publisher' in *Lost Illusions: the Politics of Publishing in Nineteenth-Century France*, Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 154-186.
- Henderson, L. (2007) *Towards a Geography of Mid-Nineteenth Century Publishing: John Murray and the Author(is)ing of David Livingstone's Missionary Travels*, Royal Holloway, University of London, Unpublished MA Dissertation, 73-87.
- Henderson, L. (2009) '"Everyone will die laughing": John Murray and the Publication of David Livingstone's Missionary Travels' *Livingstone Online*.

- Henson, L., Cantor, G. Dawson, G., Noakes, R., Shuttleworth, S. and Topham, J.R. (eds.) (2004) *Culture and Science in Nineteenth-Century Media*, Aldershot: Ashgate.
- Herbert, F. (1983) 'The Royal Geographical Society's membership, the map trade and geographical publishing in Britain 1830 to ca 1930: an introductory essay with listing of some 250 Fellows in related professions', *Imago Mundi* 35, 67-95.
- Herbert, F. (2004) 'Stanford, Edward (1827–1904)', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, Online Edition Oxford University Press, 2004
Accessed 10 Sept 2011.
- Hones, S. (2008) 'Text as it happens: literary geography', *Geography Compass*, 2, 1301-1317.
- Houston, N.M. 'Reading the Victorian souvenir: sonnets and photographs of the Crimean War', *Yale Journal of Criticism*, 14 (2001), 353-383.
- Howsam, L. (1991) 'Kegan Paul, Trench, Trübner and Company Limited', *Dictionary of Literary Biography* 106, 242-43.
- Howsam, L. (1992) 'Sustained literary ventures. The series in Victorian book publishing' *Publishing History*, 31, 5-26.
- Howsam, L. (1998) *Kegan Paul - A Victorian Imprint: Publishers, Books and Cultural History*, London: Kegan Paul International.
- Howsam, L. (2004) 'Trübner, Nicholas (1817–1884)', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, Online Edition, Oxford University Press
<http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/27771>, accessed 01 Sept 2011.
- Howsam, L. (2009) *Past into Print: The Publishing of History in Britain, 1850-1950*, London: British Library.
- Hughes, L.K. and Lund, M. (1991) *The Victorian Serial*, Charlotte: University of Virginia Press.
- Ives, M. (1995) 'A bibliographical approach to publishing' in J.O. Jordan and R.L. Patten (eds.), *Literature in the Marketplace: Nineteenth-Century British Publishing and Reading Practices*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 269-288.
- Jeal, T. (1973) *Livingstone*, Pimlico: London.
- Johns, A. (1998) 'Science and the book in modern cultural historiography', *Studies in History and Philosophy of Science*, 29, 167-94.

- Johns, A. (1998) *The Nature of the Book: Print and Knowledge in the Making*, University of Chicago Press: Chicago.
- Johns, A. (2002) 'Vestigial Sensations: Review symposium', *Metascience* 11, 19-27.
- Johns, A. (2010) *Piracy: The Intellectual Property Wars from Gutenberg to Google*, Chicago: University of Chicago Press.
- Jordan, J.O. and Patten, R.L. (1995) 'Introduction: publishing history as hypertext' in J.O. Jordan and R.L. Patten (eds.), *Literature in the Marketplace: Nineteenth-Century British Publishing and Reading Practices*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1-18.
- Jordan, J.O. and Patten, R.L. (eds.), (1995) *Literature in the Marketplace: Nineteenth-Century British Publishing and Reading Practices*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Joshi, P. (2002) 'Quantitative method, literary history', *Book History* 5, 263-274.
- Keighren, I.M. (2010) *Bringing Geography to Book: Ellen Semple and the Reception of Geographical Knowledge*, London and New York: I.B. Tauris.
- Keighren, I.M. (2006) 'Bringing geography to the book: charting the reception of *Influences of Geographic Environment*', *Transactions of the Institute of British Geographers* 31, 525-540.
- Keighren, I.M. (2010) 'Reading the messy reception of *Influences of Geographic Environment* (1911)' in M. Ogborn and C.W.J. Withers (eds.), *Geographies of the Book*, Farnham: Ashgate, 277-298.
- King, A. and Plunkett, J. (2005) *Victorian Print Media: A Reader*, Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Knell, S.J. (2003) 'Victorian Sensation: The Extraordinary Publication, Reception, and Secret Authorship of *Vestiges of the Natural History of Creation* (Review)', *Victorian Studies* 45, 346-348.
- Koivunen, L. (2009) *Visualizing Africa in Nineteenth-Century British Travel Accounts*, New York: Routledge.
- Landow, G.P. (1972) 'Mudie's Circulating Library and the Victorian novel', *Modern Philology* 69, 367-369.
- Latham, S. and Scholes, R. (2006) 'The rise of periodical studies', *PMLA* 121, 517-31.
- Law, G. (2000) *Serializing Fiction in the Victorian Press*, New York: Palgrave Macmillan

- Leary, P. (2005) 'Googling the Victorians', *Journal of Victorian Culture* 10, 72-86.
- Levine, G. (2003) '[Chambers], Darwin, or historical structures: Secord's sensation. Roundtable: James Secord's Victorian Sensation' *Journal of Victorian Culture* 8, 126-135.
- Lightman, B. (2007) *Victorian Popularizers of Science: Designing Nature for New Audiences*, Chicago: University of Chicago Press.
- Lister, W.B.C. (1993) *A Guide to the Microfiche Edition of Murray's Handbooks for Travellers. With an Introduction by J.R. Gretton*, University Publications of America.
- Livingstone, D. (1857) *Missionary Travels and Researches in South Africa*, London: John Murray, 1857.
- Livingstone, D.N. (1995) 'The spaces of knowledge: contributions towards a historical geography of science', *Environment and Planning D: Society and Space* 13, 5-35.
- Livingstone, D.N. (2001) *Science, Space and Hermeneutics: Hettner Lecture 2001* Heidelberg: University of Heidelberg.
- Livingstone, D.N. (2003) *Putting Science in its Place: Geographies of Scientific Knowledge*, Chicago: University of Chicago Press.
- Livingstone, D.N. (2005a) 'Text, talk and testimony: geographical reflections on scientific habits. An afterword', *British Journal for the History of Science* 38, 93-100.
- Livingstone, D.N. (2005b) 'Science, text and space: thoughts on the geography of reading', *Transactions of the Institute of British Geographers* 30, 391-401.
- Livingstone, D.N. (2010) 'Landscapes of knowledge' in P. Meusburger, D.N. Livingstone and H. Jöns (eds.), *Geographies of Science: Knowledge and Space*, Dordrecht: Springer Science 3-22.
- Lloyd, E.M. (2004) 'Alexander, Sir James Edward (1803-1885)', rev. James Lunt, *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, Online Edition, Oxford University Press.
- Loadman, J. (2005) *Tears of the Tree: The Story of Rubber*, Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- MacDonald, B.H. and Black, F.A. (2000) 'Using GIS for spatial and temporal analyses in print culture studies: some opportunities and challenges', *Social Science History*, 24, 505-536.

- MacKenzie, M.J. (ed.) (1996) *David Livingstone and the Victorian Encounter with Africa*, London: National Portrait Gallery.
- MacLaren, I.S. (1992) 'Exploration/travel literature and the evolution of the author', *International Journal of Canadian Studies* 5, 39-68.
- MacLaren, I.S. (1994) 'From exploration to publication: the evolution of a 19th-century Arctic narrative' *Arctic* 47, 43-53.
- Markovits, S. (2008) 'Rushing into print: "participatory journalism" during the Crimean War', *Victorian Studies* 50, 559-586.
- Mason, H. (ed.), (1998) *The Darnton Debate: Books and Revolution in the Eighteenth Century*, Oxford: Voltaire Foundation.
- Mayhew, R.J. (2007) 'Materialist hermeneutics, textuality and the history of geography: print spaces in British geography, c.1500-1900', *Journal of Historical Geography* 33, 466-488.
- Mayhew, R.J. (2010) 'Printing posterity: editing Varenus and the construction of geography's history' in M. Ogborn and C.W.J. Withers (eds.), *Geographies of the Book*, Farnham: Ashgate, 157-190.
- McCleery, A. (2002) 'The return of the publisher to book history: the case of Allen Lane', *Book History* 5, 161-185.
- McGann, J. (2006) 'The socialization of texts' in D. Finkelstein and A. McCleery (eds.), *The Book History Reader*, London: Routledge, 66-73.
- McKenzie, D.F. (2006) 'The book as an expressive form' in D. Finkelstein and A. McCleery (eds.), *The Book History Reader*, London: Routledge, 35-46.
- McKitterick, D. (1992) *A History of Cambridge University Press, Volume 2: Scholarship and Commerce, 1698-1872*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- McKitterick, D. (2004) *A History of Cambridge University Press, Volume 3: New Worlds for Learning, 1873-1972*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- McVey, S. (1975) 'Nineteenth-century America: publishing in a developing country' *Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science* 421, 67-80.
- Middleton, D. (1978) 'Guide to the publications of the Royal Geographical Society 1830-1892', *The Geographical Journal* 144, 99-116.
- Middleton, D. (1986) 'The early history of the Hakluyt Society 1847-1923', *Geographical Journal* 152, 217-224.

- Middleton, D. (2001) 'Introduction' to F. Galton, *The Art of Travel or, Shifts and Contrivances Available in Wild Countries [1872]*, London: Phoenix Press, i-xvi.
- Mill, H.R. (1930) *The Record of the Royal Geographical Society 1830-1930*, London: The Royal Geographical Society.
- Mussell, J. (2008) 'Ownership, institutions, and methodology', *Journal of Victorian Culture* 13, 94-100.
- Mussell, J. and Paylor, S. (2005) 'Mapping the "Mighty Maze:" the Nineteenth Century Serials Edition', 19: *Interdisciplinary Studies in the Long Nineteenth Century* 1, 1-25, (Accessed 01 September 2011).
- Nash, S. (2010) 'What's in a name? Signature, criticism, and authority in the *Fortnightly Review*' *Victorian Periodicals Review* 43, 57-82.
- National Library of Scotland (2011) John Murray Archive Online Catalogue, Accessed 01 June 2011.
- National Library of Scotland (2011) 'UK Memory of the World status for Murray Archive', Press Release, 26 May 2011, Accessed 01 June 2011.
- Naylor, S. (2005) 'Introduction: historical geographies of science – places, contexts, cartographies', *British Journal of History for the of Science* 38, 1-12.
- Ogborn, M. (2002) 'Writing travels: power, knowledge and ritual on the English East India Company's early voyages', *Transactions of the Institute of British Geographers* 27, 155-171.
- Ogborn, M. (2004) 'Geographia's pen: writing, geography and the arts of commerce, 1660-1760', *Journal of Historical Geography* 30, 294-315.
- Ogborn, M. (2005-6) 'Mapping worlds', *New Formations*, 145-149.
- Ogborn, M. (2007) *Indian Ink: Script and Print in the Making of the English East India Company*, Chicago: University of Chicago Press.
- Ogborn, M. and Withers, C.W.J. (2010) 'Introduction: book geography, book history' in M. Ogborn and C.W.J. Withers (eds.), *Geographies of the Book*, Farnham: Ashgate, 1-28.
- Ogborn, M. and Withers, C.W.J. (eds.) (2010), *Geographies of the Book*, Farnham: Ashgate.